

Brevall J. / Gal + E E

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
House of *NASSAU*,
FROM
Its earliest Known ORIGIN,
CONTINUED

Down to the present Times, more
particularly with Regard to that
BRANCH of it, that inherited the
Estates of ORANGE.

AS LIKEWISE,
Some Account of the HOUSES of
BAUX and CHALONS.

To which is prefixed,
A large GENEALOGICAL TABLE
Curiously engraven on two COPPER PLATES.

As are likewise added,
Some Original LETTERS from
King WILLIAM, while Prince of ORANGE.

L O N D O N :

Printed for R. MONTAGU, at the Book-Ware-
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to Her Majesty, and His Royal Highness the
Prince of *Wales*. M.DCC.XXXIV.



Her Royal Highness

E. V. N.

PRINCESS ROYAL

PRESENTED BY



MADAM

THE WORK which, by

Your Royal High-

ness's Indulgence, I

have the Honour of

presenting at Your Feet, however

of Entertainment it may other-

wise



T O
Her ROYAL HIGHNESS
A N N E,
PRINCESS ROYAL
O F
GREAT BRITAIN.

MADAM,



THE WORK which, by
Your ROYAL HIGH-
NESS's Indulgence, I
have the Honour of
laying at Your Feet, however
void of Entertainment it may other-

A 2

wise

DEDICATION.

wife be to so refined a Taste, will, nevertheless, I flatter myself, be no unacceptable Offering at present; when the HISTORY of a FAMILY, to which, Illustrious as it has been for so many Ages, Providence has designed You as an Additional Ornament, engrosses the Conversation, as the Heir of it employs the Wishes of every honest BRITON.

Nor are You, MADAM, in Your own Particular, permit me to say it, not interested in an HISTORY of The NASSAUS; since not only some of those Great Men are ranked among the Ancestors

DEDICATION.

of Your AUGUST HOUSE, but
You, MADAM, are now the Third
ELDEST DAUGHTER of GREAT
BRITAIN, designed to perpetuate the Favourite Alliance, between this CROWN, and the FAMILY of ORANGE.

It is a singular Circumstance that we owe the Happiness of still seeing You, to an Indisposition that touches You, and the NATION so nearly. Heaven seems to have permitted this Evil to make the Blessing more valuable from the Danger of losing it. That his HIGHNESS's perfect Recovery may soon give a Loose to that universal

DEDICATION.

universal Exultation which His
Illness alone could have inter-
rupted, is the sincere Wish of,

MADAM,

Your ROYAL HIGHNESS'S,

Most humble,

Most obedient, and

Most dutiful Servant,

JOHN BREVAL.



THE PREFACE



T is a Matter of no small Wonder, that since the Reign of King Charles I, which is the earliest Epoch of Alliance between the Royal Family of England and the Nassaus, we have never had, in our Language, a continued and regular History of that House, nor so much as of the Princes of Orange, and that even the least epitomiz'd Accounts of this Branch that have hitherto appeared in Print, have none of them a better Foundation to go upon than the Memoirs of Du Maurier, a Man of Vivacity, indeed, but of a poor Judgment, a low Stile, partial,

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partial, slenderly informed of Facts, and whose principal Aim in writing the Memoirs he did, seems to have been (pursuant to the usual Genius of his Countrymen) the doing Honour to his Father's Negotiations; who was some Time Minister from France at the Hague, and to his own Merits.

The Dutch, who were so nearly concerned in the House of Orange, to which they owe their Deliverance, are not without Histories of it, I am assured, in their own Language, and there are German Authors, no doubt, that carry back the Affairs of the Nassaus (who made so great a Figure in their Country many Ages passed) as far as there are any Traditions or Records about them, that may, with Safety, be relied upon. All these are lost for want of Translators, to the Generality of the World, to whom those Languages are little known

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known (not but that the Nassaus have an equal Right, I should think, to an English History, at least, with the Stewarts, Tudors, or Plantagenets themselves, since one of them has so deservedly filled the British Throne) and it is for that Reason that People are apt to take upon Trust what they meet with concerning this great Family in Strada, Bentivoglio, and other Catholick Writers in Latin and Italian, who were basely partial to the Spanish Side, and deserve little Regard, therefore, on this Account, whatever Merit they may claim in other Respects from their Stile or their Matter.

The French Memoirs of that Illustrious Captain Prince Henry Frederick, which seem to have been writ by himself, and were published last Year, from the original Manuscript, by the Permission of his Highness

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ness Prince Anhalt Dessau, Grand-son, by the Mother, to the said Prince, who is the Proprietor of it, inspired me with the first Inclination of compiling a Work of this Kind, as I had, moreover, Sir William Temple's, and Bishop Burnet's Authorities for what relates to King William, while Prince of Orange only, for I go no farther; and I thought such an History could not appear in Publick at a properer Time, than when the Heir of the said King is come among us, upon an Occasion of the greatest Importance and Solemnity.

For what little I have said, with Regard to Prince John William Friso, Father to his present Highness, whose Exploits well deserve the fullest Account, I am obliged to L'Histoire Militaire du Prince Eugene de Savoye, du Duc de Marlborough, & du Prince de Nassau.

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au Frize, as being writ by a Person of Credit, who was near his Highness in all his Campaigns, and whose Facts are, consequently, indisputable. This, indeed, might have been made perfecter, could I have met with the Account of M. Amiegue, that Prince's Preceptor, who has published a compleat Life of him in French; but as it is to be hoped, that whatever is here omitted will be the Task hereafter of some abler Pen, I shall think my End abundantly answered, if, by rescuing any great Name or Action from Obscurity, I have been able to give a Mark of my Zeal for an House, which has laid the Country I owe my Birth to, and the Religion I am a Professor of, under such unspeakable Obligations.

King William's Letters at the End, were published many Years ago, together with the French, from which

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which they are translated, and as from their having been dedicated to the then Lord Woodstock, by the Permission of his Father, the late Earl of Portland, there can be no doubt of their being Genuine, as the Copies, moreover, are become very scarce, they have been judged no improper Addition to this Book.



THE



THE HISTORY

Of the Most ILLUSTRIOUS
House of *NASSAU*.



THE House of *Nassau* has produced for many Individuals, whom their heroick Virtues, and Atchievements might have entitled to Crowns; that, tho' it be a glorious Circumstance to have given *Germany* an Emperor, and *Britain* a King, yet are we not to derive this Family's whole Splendor from thence, or overlook such a Series of Worthies as owe their Birth to the same illustrious Root.

Without giving into the Legendary Traditions of flattering Genealogists, it may not be amiss, before I enter into a little Detail concerning

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cerning the Branch of *Orange* (which, tho' one of the last in Point of Eldership, has furnished Historians with ampler Materials than all the rest) to carry our Retrospect to such of the *Nassaus* (Ancestors to the Line in Question) as have been more eminently conspicuous in past Ages, while yet unallied with the House of *Chalon*, from whence their Posterity received that mighty Addition of Lustre and Fortune.

We find an *Otho*, Count of *Nassau*, so long ago as the Beginning of the tenth Century, employed as General under the Emperor *Henry I*, (commonly known by the Name of * *L'Oiseleur*) in subduing a Swarm of Savage *Hungarians*, who, for many Years, had infested *Germany*, even to the imposing a Tribute upon some of *Henry's* † Predecessors; in which remarkable Battle, fought in 932, if the Chronicles of that Age may be credited, the Slaughter made of those Ravagers, came nothing short of that of the *Cimbri* and *Teutons*, by *Marius*: The same fortunate Warrior had a principal Hand, afterwards, in reducing the *Vandals*, *Danes*, *Sclavonians*, *Dalmatians*, and *Bobemians*.

Among the Descendants of *Otho* of *Nassau*, *Walram I*, and *III*, more particularly distinguished themselves in the Cause of the German Emperors;

*The Birdcatcher.

† *Lewis IV*, and *Conrad I*.

* *Slav*
his Riv
† *Ch*
Maxim
§ *Ali*
to their
milian,
1513.

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Emperors; the former under the victorious *Otho I*, the latter under *Conrad II*. It was to these faithful Services of his Progenitors, that, in a great measure, were owing the large Possessions of *Henry*, surnamed *the Rich*, third in Descent from the last mentioned *Walram*, and Grandfather to the brave, but unhappy, Emperor *Adolphus* *.

The Accession, by Marriage, of *Breda*, *Vianden*, and other Lordships in the *Netherlands*, gave the *Nassaus* such a Weight in those Provinces, that *John II* of *Nassau Dillemburg*, and his Son *Engelbert II*, were both successively appointed Governors of *Brabant*, by the † Sovereigns of that State; and the last, who was likewise honoured with the Commission of *Maximilian I*'s Lieutenant General in the *Low-Countries*, immortalized his Fame, at the same Time that he secured his Master's Footing there, by the glorious Victory of *Guinegaste* §.

It was from a Brother of this *Engelbert* (for he died without Issue himself) that sprang *William*, surnamed *the Old*, with whom his elder Brother *Henry* (a Prince much in *Charles V*'s Favour) made a Partition of his patrimonial

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Lands;

* Slain at the Battle of *Spire*, in 1298, by *Albert* of *Austria* his Rival for the Imperial Crown.

† *Charles* the Bold, Duke of *Burgundy*; and the Emperor *Maximilian*, his Son-in-Law, after him.

§ Alias the Battle of *Spurrs*; because the *French* Cavalry took to their Heels immediately. *Henry VIII* of *England*, and *Maximilian*, lay then with their united Forces before *Tervuerne*, in 1513.

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Lands; and who is, perhaps, the only Instance History affords of a Father that bred up five Sons, each of them an Hero, and * three of the Number slain in the Field, in Defence of their Religion and Liberties.

John, next Brother to the Great *William* Prince of *Orange*, and immediate Ancestor to his now reigning Highness of *Nassau Orange*, and *Nassau Dietz*, had no small Share in rescuing his Country from the *Spanish* Yoke; and was chiefly instrumental moreover in bringing *Utrecht*, and *Guelderland* (of which last Province he was Governor) into the Grand Confederacy. He died at the Age of Seventy-one, in 1606, having seen no less than Eighty-five of his own Descendants; but happier still in living to be Eye-witness of the Success of his valiant Nephews, *Maurice* and *Henry Frederick*, and in arriving to the utmost Period of a War, that had cost him two † Sons and three Brothers.

Ernest Casimir, who had in Appanage from his Father the County of *Dietz*, having served under his Cousins ever since he was able to bear Arms, went, in 1606, and assisted *Henry Julius*, Duke

* *Lewis*, *Adolphus*, and *Henry*, youngest Sons to *William the Old*; the first and last were killed at the Battle of the *Mockerheyde*, in 1574. The second fell by the Hand of the Count of *Artemberg*, who was slain by him at the same Time, in a Skirmish near *Damm* in *Friesland*.

† *Philip*, Governor of *Nimeguen*, who died of his Wound received in *Zeeland*, in the Year 1595, and *Lewis Gunther*, killed at the Siege of *Sluys*, in 1604. The Brothers have been mentioned in the foregoing Paragraph.

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Duke of *Brunswick*, in bringing his rebellious Subjects to Reason. Having married, the Year following, *Sophia Hedwig*, Daughter to that martial Prince, he returned to the *Netberlands*, succeeded his deceased elder Brother, *William Lewis*, in the Governments of *West-Frizeland*, *Groninguen*, and the *Ommelands*; and upon the Expiration of the Truce with *Spain*, being honoured, by the States General, with the Commission of *Marechal de Camp*, was slain at last, in 1632, at the Attack of *Ruremonde*; as was his eldest Son and Heir *Henry Casimir*, a few Years after him, at *Fort Nassau* in *Flanders*.

It was in Consideration of the Services rendered their Country, by these eminent Patriots, and the Blood they had lavished in its Defence, that the States General made the Government of the Provinces above-mentioned Hereditary to this Branch, in the Person of *William Frederick*, who succeeded his Brother in the Honours and Estates of it. He unhappily died by the bursting of a Firelock, in 1664, some Years after his Promotion to the Dignity of a Prince of the Empire, leaving, by his Wife and Cousin, *Albertine Agnes*, *Henry Casimir*, Prince of *Nassau Dietz*, Hereditary Governor of *Frizeland*, &c. born in 1657, who died in the Prime of his Years in 1696, having served under his Cousin, King *William*, in all those glorious Campaigns against *France*. His Estates devolved, after his De-

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cease,

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cease, to his only Son, by *Emilia*, Daughter to *John George*, Prince of *Anbalt Dessau*, the most Illustrious *John William Frizo* (Father to his now Highness of *Nassau Orange*) born in 1687; the Account of whose short, but heroick, Life, shall be postponed, as coming in more properly in the Series of the Princes of *Orange*.

Before we come to clear up the Point of the Succession of *William* of *Nassau Dillemburg* (commonly called *the Great*) to the Estates of *Chalon Orange*, something may be necessary to be premised, in Relation to a Principality, so much talked of, and so often contested, till *Lewis XIV's* Seizure, and Disposal of it afterwards in Favour of the House of *Conti* (which pretends a † Claim) put an End to the material Part of the Competition, tho' his Highness of *Nassau Dieft*, as undoubted Heir to King *William III*, is still possess'd of the Title.

The little, but wealthy and delicious, Tract of Land, of which *Orange* is the Capital, being about four Leagues in Length, and as many in Breadth, lies in the *Comté Venaissin*, bordering upon that of *Avignon*, within a small Distance of the *Rhone*; and made no inconsiderable Part of that ancient and famous Kingdom of *Arles*, which was established by *Bofo* towards the End of the IXth Century. The City itself is remarkable

† As Heirs General to the Dukes of *Orleans-Longueville*, who descended from a Branch of the House of *Baux*.

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able for many Monuments of the *Roman* Times (when it was erected into a Colony) and for one of the finest triumphal Arches * in the World more particularly ; but has lost its most essential Ornament, in that noble Citadel which commanded the whole Country round, built by *Maurice of Nassau*, Prince of *Orange*, in 1623, and dismantled to the very Foundations by *Lewis XIV.* in 166c.

In the Beginning of the IXth Century, Historians tell us of one *William*, surnamed *Cornet*, of uncertain Extraction, Sovereign of this State, and highly esteemed by the great Emperor *Charlemagne*, whose Vassal he then was. Upon Failure of the Male Descendants of this Prince in the Person of *Rambald IV.* who died in the XIIIth Century, his Lands devolved to *Tiburga*, Great Aunt to the said *Rambald*, who brought them in Marriage to *Bertrand II.* of the illustrious House of *Baux* †. These were common Ancestors to *Raymond V.* Father to *Mary*, with whom *John IV.* of *Cbalon*, contracted an Alliance in 1386 ; and it was from them that descended in a direct Male Line the brave *Philibert* of *Cbalon*, who, after many sig-

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* Erected for some signal Victory over the Nations of this Part of *Gaul* ; but whether for *Caius Marius*, or *Domitius Aenebarbus* before him, is still in Dispute.

† Some Authors derive it from the old Kings of *Burgundy*, others from a Count of *Narbonne* ; be that as it will, they had Alliances with some of the greatest Families in Europe, and Pretensions to the Kingdom of *Arles*, Viscounty of *Marseilles*, &c. One Branch of *Baux* settled in *Naples*, and were nearly ally'd to the Royal Houses of *Anjou* and *Duras*.

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nal Services render'd the Emperor *Charles V*, as at the taking of *Rome* more particularly, had the Misfortune to be slain, leaving behind him no Issue, in a little Skirmish at *Pislova*, while he had the Command of the Siege before *Florence*.

Philibert had one only Sister, named *Claudia*, whose Education was at the *French Court*. *Henry Count of Nassau Dillemburg*, being at that Time (in 1515) joint Ambassador there with *Michael of Croy*, in Behalf of the Prince of *Spain*, Sovereign of the *Netherlands* (afterwards Emperor by the Name of *Charles V*) succeeded in his Negotiations so much to his young Master's Satisfaction, that, upon the Strength of *Charles's* Interest, who had always a just Value for him, he obtained the King and Queen's Consent to marry the Princess *Claudia*; and from this Alliance came *René* of *Nassau*, constituted Heir, by Will, to the whole Estates of Prince *Philibert*. *René*, some Time before he met his Fate under the Walls of *St. Dizier* *, appointed *William of Nassau*, his Cousin German, Heir General to all his Possessions, Part of which that illustrious Hero at last enjoy'd, † thro' the strong Protection of the Crown of *France*,

* A strong Town in *Champagne*, upon the Confines of the Duchy of *Barr*. He was shot dead by a Cannon Ball, commanding that Siege for *Charles V*. in 1544.

† Some part of his Succession was in the *Franche Comté*, which then belong'd to *Spain*; this was forfeited to *Philip* upon Prince *William's* Revolt. As *Orange*, which was part of *Provence*, had been seized upon Prince *René's* embracing the Imperial Interest, by King *Francis I*.

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France, all the Protestations of the several Pretenders to the Succession of *Orange* notwithstanding: And it is by this great Man's Life we shall set out in our compendious Narration.

William of *Nassau*, eldest Son to *William the Old*, was born in the Year 1533, at the Castle of *Dillemburg*, the antient Seat of this Branch of the *Nassaus*, and at eleven Years of Age succeeded his Cousin *René* in his Right to the Principality of *Orange*, as well as in all his other Estates. The Emperor having taken him away from his Father to breed him up in the Popish Religion, charg'd his Sister *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, at that Time Governess of the *Netherlands*, with the Care of his Education, and so soon as his Age would allow of it, made him Gentleman of his Bedchamber; in which Station the Prince continued a long time, always near *Charles's* Person, giving early Proofs of those admirable Qualities which shone out afterwards, in his riper Years, in so conspicuous a Manner. *Charles*, the most sagacious of Princes, had no sooner discover'd this promising Genius, but he resolv'd to have the cultivating of it himself, pleas'd to instruct a Youth of so rare a Capacity, and to form him betimes as well for the Cabinet as the Field: Nay, he would often confess to his Intimates, that he ow'd important Notions and Hints, which would even have escap'd a Man of his consummate Experience and Knowledge, to the young Prince of *Orange*; and many times

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times would rebuke his Bashfulness by this obliging Command, *Prince Demeurez*, at a Time when Princes, or Ambassadors obtain'd private Audience of his Majesty; and *William*, out of Respect, would have withdrawn himself among the Croud of Courtiers.

It was with no small Astonishment, nor doubtless without a great deal of Envy, that the whole Imperial Court saw a Prince of those tender Years, caress'd and distinguish'd to that degree (even to the being trusted with Affairs of the greatest Moment) by a Monarch of *Charles's* Gravity and Wisdom: Nor could there be a stronger Proof of this Partiality, than the Choice made of the Prince of *Orange*, scarce arrived to his twentieth Year, preferably to such a Multitude of Grandees, to be the Bearer of the Imperial Crown, which *Charles* thought fit to resign to his Brother *Ferdinand*. The Commission was not accepted, indeed, by the young Prince without a great deal of Reluctance, the rather (as he most handsomely express'd it) because it was that very Crown which, at *Charles's* Inauguration, *Henry of Nassau* *, his Uncle, had had the Honour to fix with his own Hands upon his Majesty's Head.

As it is manifest from what has been said, how far Prince *William's* Conduct had insinuated him

* Who had married *Claude* of *Chalon*, and contributed more than any Man to *Charles's* Election.

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him into the Emperor's good Opinion, in like manner it is evident, that he was not in a less Degree of Esteem with that Monarch, upon the Account of his Valour; for tho' he had scarce attain'd his Two-and-twentieth Year, when *Philibert Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, General in Chief of *Charles's* Forces, was obliged to absent himself from his Command in the *Netherlands*, upon his private Affairs; yet did the Emperor pitch upon *William* to supply Duke *Philibert's* Room, in Opposition to his whole Council, rejecting the Count of *Egmont*, and so many experienc'd Veterans; and that too at a critical Juncture, when he had to deal with *Monsieur de Nevers*, and the Admiral of *Chatillon*, Commanders of no small Reputation, at the Head of a formidable Army; nor were *Charles's* Expectations frustrated, the young General having maintained his Ground with Advantage, as well as Honour, the whole Campaign; and built *Philipville* and *Charlemont* in the very Sight of the *French* Camp.

This high Favour which the Prince was in with the Emperor *Charles*, caused the latter to recommend him in a most particular Manner to his Son *Philip*, become King of *Spain* by his Father's Demission; but *Philip*, bred up in the *Spanish* Maxims, of Pride, Diffidence, and Bigotry, by Nature of a morose and tyrannical Disposition, and influenc'd moreover by Favourites, who saw *William's* Prosperity

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rity with envious Eyes, was not long before he convinc'd the World how small a Stress he laid upon *Charles's* Recommendation, expressing his Dislike to the Prince upon a thousand Occasions, misconstruing the most innocent Words and Actions, and ascribing to him solely, and to his underhand Management, all that Opposition which he then was beginning to meet with from the Provinces of the *Netherlands*, groaning under the *Spanish* Oppression, and the Loss of their antient Privileges.

Hence it came to pass, that when King *Philip* was at *Flushing*, just upon the Point of embarking for *Spain*, he fell to upbraiding the Prince of *Orange* for the Obstruction he had given his Designs, by his private Cabals, in Terms of great Warmth : In answer to which, when the Prince remonstrated with all Humility, that no Opposition had been made to his Royal Will, but by the pure immediate Motion of the *States* themselves ; *Philip*, shaking him by the Wrist, and with a Countenance full of Anger, made this wrathful Reply ; *No los Estados, ma Vos, Vos, Vos ; Not the States, but Thou, Thou, Thou ;* repeating the Word *Vos* three times (an Expression of singular Force in the *Spanish* Language) as an undoubted Mark of the Extremity of his Resentment. This cruel and publick Reproach, made so deep an Impression in the Prince's Mind, that doubting of his own Safety, should he attend the King
all

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all the Way to the Sea-side, he took his Leave of him (wishing his Majesty an happy Voyage) within the Walls of *Flushing*, where he was secure from all Attempts, amidst a People who lov'd and respected him, even to a kind of Idolatry.

Another Circumstance there was that made him yet more sensible of the Hatred *Philip* bore him; for whereas the Prince flattered himself he should enjoy the Lieutenancy of the *Low Countries* (in as honourable a Manner as some of his Predecessors had done) under *Margaret* of † *Austria*, Dutcheß of *Parma*, the King's natural Sister; he found, on the contrary, that, by *Philip's* Direction, the chief Person entrusted with her Highness's most secret Councils, was *Perenot*, Cardinal of *Granvelle*, his declared Enemy; and that when he himself had Admission to the Board, it was only to save Appearances, as it were; all Deliberations of Importance being conceal'd from him with the same Reserve, as could have been used to the meanest State-Counsellor.

Nor had *Philip's* Behaviour, for the Reasons already mentioned, given less Subject of Disgust to the Nobility and Commonalty of the *Netherlands* in general, than it had to the Prince of *Orange* in particular. He was observed, on his

† Married, after the Murther of her first Husband *Alexander* of *Medici*, Duke of *Florence*, to *Octavio Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*.

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his first Appearance in those *Provinces*, long before his Father's Abdication, to be quite the Reverse of that affable, good, and gracious Monarch in so many Respects, always affecting the Habit, Language, and Sullenness of a true-born *Spaniard* (tho' actually a Native of the *Low Countries*) that it was not possible for the whole Lustre and Eclat of so prodigious a Fortune, to skreen him from the Contempt and Aversion of a People, who had Sentiments of Independance inspir'd into them by their Ancestors, and who, notwithstanding that they had been subject to Sovereigns from Time immemorial, were accustomed to such an easy State of Vassalage, as differed but little from a perfect Commonwealth.

Philip's Ministers, Lieutenants, and Men in Power, forming themselves upon his Model, carried their Pride and Insolence to that Height, that even before *Margaret's* being constituted by him supreme *Governess*, it was resolv'd in a full Assembly of the *States-General* of the *Low-Countries*, held at *Ghent*, to address his Majesty, that he would desist from promoting Foreigners to civil Posts, in those Branches of his Dominions, withdraw his *Spanish* and *Italian* Troops, and make use of Natives alone, for the Defence of his Towns and Fortresses.

As a Demand of this Nature could not but highly incense a Prince of *Philip's* tyrannical Disposition,

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Disposition, persuaded, as he was, especially, that the Prince of *Orange*, whom he hated, must be at the Bottom of it; so on the other Hand, not finding himself yet in a Condition of carrying his Point by violent Measures, he mask'd his Disgust under the smoothest Outside that a Man of his Temper could possibly put on, and endeavour'd to lull the Remonstrants asleep with fair Promises; but left private Instructions, however, with *Margaret*, for setting up the so much dreaded Inquisition in all Parts of her Government, as well as for the Establishment of new Bishops. It is from this ill-judg'd Resolution, we may derive all the terrible Disorders that ensued.

After *Philip's* Departure, the haughty and furious *Granvelle*, who in Effect did every Thing, made so bad an Use of the Power his Mistress vested him with; and more particularly, by his insolent Carriage towards the Nobility, drew upon himself the universal Hatred to that Degree, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn* (the two next to him in Rank) could not forbear expressing the People's Impatience of their Yoke, in a respectful Letter to *Philip*, assuring his Majesty withal, that unless the Cardinal were speedily removed, the Consequence could be no other than a total Defection of the *Netherlands*.

So

So vigorous an Address being look'd upon as a kind of treasonable Attempt by *Philip* and his Council; the Ruin of the three Remonstrants, and of all their Abettors, was resolv'd from that Moment; tho' the Court thinking it expedient to affect a Compliance with the Purport of the Letter, recall'd *Granvelle* immediately; but at the same Time, detain'd the two Deputies of the States, who had been sent to second it, and beg a Redress of the publick Grievances, the Count of *Bergues*, and the Lord of *Montigni*, both Knights of the *Golden Fleece*; the former Governor of *Hainault* and *Cambresis*, and the latter of *Tournay*. This Violation of publick Faith (advised underhand, it is said, by the Dutchess of *Parma* herself) was Warning more than sufficient to all the Grandees of that illustrious Body, to take immediate Measures for their common Security.

Granvelle, who could be no Stranger to the Motive of these repeated Sollicitations, enrag'd more than ever at the Nobles, was the first who propos'd the sending of the Duke of *Alva* into the *Low-Countries*, with an Army of *Spaniards* and *Italians*; in which Motion he was seconded by all *Philip's* Ministers at *Madrid*: And this Resolution of the King's was no sooner made publick, but the Prince of *Orange* (well appriz'd of the View *Philip* had in it, and how heavy the Charge lay upon himself of having fomented this Party-Spirit) went and begg'd of
the

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the *Dutchess*, that she would obtain of the King leave for him to surrender his Governments of *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Utrecht*, and *Burgundy*. To this Request her Highness reply'd in the Negative, advising him with-all, in the most obliging Manner, to remove from his Person Count *Lodowick* his Brother, who lay under the Suspicion of infusing Counsels into him, that were inconsistent with the publick Tranquility. But neither would the Prince hearken to this, nor to another Proposal of a new Oath of Allegiance to King *Philip*; by taking which, he would not only have oblig'd himself to lend an Hand in rooting out the Protestant Religion, but might likewise have been drawn into an Impossibility of preventing the Death of his own Wife, who, notwithstanding her Alliance, would have been liable to the Rigor of the Law as a *Lutheran*.

Not to take up too much of the Reader's Time, with an Account of the several Representations made by the whole Body of Nobles of the *Low Countries*, to the *Dutchess* of *Parma*, upon the grand Affair of the Inquisition and Bishops intended to be forc'd upon them: I shall only take notice, that they no sooner found how much the Court of *Spain* held them in Contempt, but they agreed upon a general Meeting at *Dendermonde*, in order to take proper Measures, as well for the Security of their

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Persons, as for that of their respective Provinces.

The Proofs produc'd at this Assembly, by Letters which the Prince of Orange had found Means to get intercepted, of *Philip's* real Purpose to enslave the *Low Countries*, were set in so clear a Light, and the Danger they were in made so undeniably plain, that the Majority came without the least Demur into his Highness's Opinion, which was to throw off the Mask, and betake them immediately to Arms; but this noble Resolution *Egmont* (who was Governor of *Flanders* and *Artois*, and greatly beloved of the Soldiery) could not, by any means, be prevail'd upon to join in; and, on the contrary, in a thorough Confidence of his own Merits (as doubtless no Man had serv'd the Crown of *Spain* with a more successful Fidelity) advised all the Members of that illustrious Body to make a proper Submission, and throw themselves upon *Philip's* Clemency. Which Sentiment, as he persisted in immoveably at a second Meeting they had at *Willebrock*, the Prince could not forbear this prophetic Reply, That *that Clemency, on which the Count laid such a Stress, would prove his own Ruin; that the Spaniards would make use of him as of a Bridge to enter the Low-Countries upon; which Bridge, when they had carried their Point, and were actually entered, they would immediately break down.* After these Words, as if he had a Fore-knowledge that he
and

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and the Count were parting for the last Time, as in Reality they were, he threw his Arms about his Neck, and so, with Tears in their Eyes, they bad each other farewell.

The Prince, presently after this Separation, removed with his Wife and Family to *Breda* (his eldest Son *Philip* only excepted, who was then a Student in *Louvain*) and was followed by a great Part of the Nobility. After a short Stay in that Place, he thought fit to get farther out of the Reach of his Enemies, into the Duchy of *Cleve*, and from thence proceeded to *Dillemburg*, the antient Residence of the *Nassaus* of this Branch.

The Duke of *Alva*, in the mean time, hastened his March into the *Netherlands*, at the Head of an Army composed of Veteran *Spaniards* and *Italians*. There he began his Administration, by seizing the too over-credulous Counts *Egmont* and *Horn*, whom he caused, not long after, to be publicly executed upon the Market-place of *Brussels*, by the same Ax that had taken off eighteen Heads of Lords and Gentlemen but a few Days before, without any Regard to the Services rendered *Spain* by the first of these Counts; to whose Valour were, in a great measure, owing the glorious Victories of *Gravelines* and *St. Quintin*. Then it was that People were made sensible of the Wisdom of the Prince's Advice to him, which

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his lending a deaf Ear to, had brought him to the Block ; and, as universal as the Grief was at the Loss of a Nobleman of *Egmont's* Worth, yet was the Joy not less general, on the other Hand, at the Prince's Escape ; for *William* was the Soul of the Party, the *Netherlanders* considering him as their tutelar Angel : Nay, that seemed to be the Opinion of the greatest of his Enemies ; *Granvelle* himself, who, so soon as he heard the News in *Rome*, where he then resided, of what was transacting at *Brussels*, put this Question to the Messenger, *Whether the Duke had seiz'd Silence?* (it was the Nick-name he used to give the Prince of *Orange*) and receiving an Answer in the Negative, *Then*, said he angrily, *if that one Fish has escap'd the Net, for all the rest of the Draught I would not give a single Giulio* †.

The Duke of *Alva's* next Step was to send a Summons to the Prince of *Orange*, the Counts of *Hockstraat* and *Culemborg*, and other Lords that were fled out of the *Low Countries*, who were required, by the new erected Council of Twelve, commonly called, *The Council of Blood*, upon Pain of being declared Traytors, and Confiscation of their Estates, to make their personal Appearance by such a Term, and answer to the Crimes they stood accused of. To this Summons the Prince sent a positive Refusal, on his Part, appealing to the States of *Brabant*, as his natural Judges, or to the King, and the Knights Companions of the Golden Fleece, as
being

† A Piece of Roman Money, worth about Six-Pence.

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being himself of that illustrious Order, a Circumstance that submitted him to no other Tribunal. He had the Precaution, at the same Time, to intreat the Emperor *Maximilian* (no Friend of *Alva's*) and the Princes of the Empire, to take him into their Protection, which was readily comply'd with, and consequently the implacable *Alva*, upon the Expiration of the Term that had been allowed the Prince, proceeded against him with all those Formalities that are usual in Cases of High Treason, putting a *Spanish* Garison, withal, into his patrimonial City of *Brèda*, and taking his Son Prince *Philip William*, a Child of thirteen Years, from *Louvain*, where, as I have already said, he was pursuing his Studies, to send him into *Spain*, by way of Hostage, as was pretended, for his Father's good Behaviour, but in effect, to confirm him a Roman Catholick, in which Persuasion that Prince continued ever after.

Thus it may be affirmed with Truth, that *Philip II* was himself the Master-spring, as I may say, of the Revolts of the *Netherlands*, thro' his Contempt and Violation of the Privileges of those Provinces, which *Charles V*, had governed all along, with so gentle an Hand, as well as by his rigorous Treatment of a great Subject, who had served the Emperor, his Father, with that distinguished Fidelity. Had *Philip*, on the contrary, pursuant to *Charles's* Advice and Example, looked

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upon the Prince of *Orange* with a favourable Eye, and been more careful of managing the Affections of the *Netherlands*, he had, without all Question, continued the former in his Service, and the latter in their Allegiance : For, could a Prince of *William's* Birth and Spirit, find his inviolable Attachment rewarded in so unworthy a Manner, see himself proscribed, his Head set at a Price, his Honour blasted, and his eldest Son forcibly taken from the Sanctuary of an University, under the Shadow of whose sacred Privileges the World believed him safe ? Could he, I say, bear all this, and keep his Sword sheathed any longer, at a Time, especially, when there was so powerful a collateral Exasperation from the Calamities of his oppressed Country, and such strong Motives from that Corner, tho' his own private Wrongs had been less numerous, to engage him in the common Cause of Religion and Liberty ?

To this Purpose it was, that the Prince, who, as we have already said, was retired to his Estates in *Germany*, with the Assistance of some neighbouring Princes and States, levied a considerable Army, the Care of which he committed to his two Brothers, *Lodowick* and *Adolphus*, ordering them to march forthwith into *Frizeland*, while he himself was preparing a Diversion in another Part of the *Low-Countries*.

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These Princes accordingly, after having taken *Damm*, and some other Towns, were investing the Cloyster of *Heylegerlee*, when the Count of *Aremberg*, General of *Alva's* Troops, came up with them; upon which followed a desperate Engagement, entirely to the Advantage of the Troops of the Princes, which purchased their Victory very dear however, by the Loss of the brave *Adolphus* of *Nassau*, who was killed fighting, Hand to Hand, with the no less valiant Count of *Aremberg*, at the same Time that he shot his Adversary dead.

Count *Lodowick* enjoyed not long the Fruits of this Success; for the Duke of *Alva*, following close at his Heels, overtook him in his March from the Bay of *Dollart* (near which the first Action happened) towards the Province of *Utrecht*, and this falling out at a Time when the Count's *Germans*, were all in Mutiny for want of their Pay, the Duke cut off, or pushed into the *Rhine*, six Thousand of his Men, and made himself Master of his Cannon, Ammunition, Baggage, &c. recovering, moreover, all the Spoils that had been taken when *Aremberg* was defeated, and narrowly missing *Lodowick* himself, who fortunately met with a Bark that carried him over the River.

Notwithstanding this Blow, the Prince of *Orange*, undispirited at his Brother's Ill-fortune,

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made a Shift to raise another Army of Twenty-four Thousand *Germans*, which received an additional Strength from a Body of four Thousand *French*, that the Lord of *Genlis* brought along with him; yet, before the Prince would enter the *Low-Countries*, he published a Manifesto, wherein he set forth the Reasons for his taking Arms, cleared himself of the Crimes laid to his Charge, and retorted the Causes of the War upon the *Council of Blood*, and the Duke of *Alva*, who, in their Declarations, had ascribed them solely to him.

This Precaution taken, the Prince crossed the *Rhine* without more ado; and after that, had Recourse to the same Stratagem that had been practised by *Cesar* in passing the *Segra* *, near *Lerida*, in order to get over the *Meuse*: For, sending his Cavalry in first, he ranged them athwart the River in such a Manner, tying the Horses together, to break the Force of the Current, that the Foot waded over, in the Night-time, with great Ease, observing a profound Silence, and then the Squadrons filing off in the Rear, the whole Army had gained the opposite Shore by Morning, to the great Astonishment of *Alva*, who was so far from believing the Passage practicable, that when the Count *deBarlaymont* brought him the first News of their being on their Side the River, he asked him, in Derision, *Whether he thought the Enemy had Wings?*

By

† Anciently the *Sycoris*.

By this Means, the Prince of *Orange* being got into *Brabant*, presently offered the *Spaniards* Battle: But the wary Duke, unwilling to put the Fate of the *Netherlands* upon one Cast, against Troops less fatigued, and more numerous than his own, kept close within his advantageous Posts, all the Artifices and Feints the Prince could use to decoy him out notwithstanding, in-
 somuch, that after nine-and-twenty several Attempts and Encampments, finding the Duke remain unmoveable, and himself frustrated of the Hopes he had flattered his Army with, of certain Cities openly declaring for him (a Disappointment his Forces would soon be sensible of in so narrow and unprovided a Territory; besides that they were already beginning to mutiny for want of Pay) he followed the Advice of *Genlis*, and the rest of the *French* Commanders, and having partly satisfied the private Men with the Sale of his Plate, Artillery, and Baggage, and mortgaged his Principality of *Orange*, by way of Security to the Officers for their particular Demands, he disbanded this fine Body of Troops with a sorrowful Heart, not till after striking one Stroke however, which happened between *Quesnoy* and *Cambray*, where the Prince had the good Fortune to cut off eighteen Companies of the Enemies Foot, with three Hundred Horse, and a Son of the Duke of *Alva's*; and to take most of their Commanders Prisoners. This was some Amends for
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an unlucky Skirmish in *Brabant*, which cost him, among others, the brave Count *Hochstraat*, who received a mortal Wound as he was endeavouring to rally his Men.

His numerous Army being thus diminished, the Prince kept about his Person no more than twelve Hundred Horse; at the Head of which, accompanied by his two Brothers, *Lodowick* and *Henry*, he joined *Wolfgang*, Duke of *Deuxponts*, of the *Palatine* Family, who was then entering *France* with a Body of Troops in Behalf of the *Hugonots*. There it was the Prince's Fortune to assist at the taking of *Charité-sur-Loire*, and afterwards at the Fight of *Rocheabeille*, where he commanded the main Battle of the *Hugonots*, in Concert with the Count of *Roche-foucault*, upon which Occasion his Brother *Lodowick*, performed Wonders, taking *Philip Strozzi*, General of the Royal Infantry, Prisoner. The Siege of *Poitiers* was the Prince's next Scene of Action; but that proving fatal to the *Hugonot* Party, he got away, in Disguise, to *Monbelliard*, from whence he repaired to his own *German* Territories, in Expectation of more favourable Times.

While the Prince was yet in *France*, the Great Admiral, * *Coligni*, had counseled him to furnish several Persons of Quality, Fugitives from the *Netherlands*, with Commissions for infesting

† Father to the Prince's fourth Wife *Louisa*.

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festing the *Spaniards* by Sea ; representing to his Highness how great an Advantage it would be to him, could he once get Footing in *Holland* or *Zeeland*, and how difficult a Task for *Alva* to dispossess him. This Advice seemed to carry an Air of Prophecy with it ; for no sooner did the Prince put it in Execution, but he was made sensible of a Change in his Fortune much for the better, becoming soon Master of those two Provinces, notwithstanding the little Countenance he met with from *England*, and other *Maritime* Powers, which, tho' they might wish him well, did not care, for State Reasons, openly to disoblige King *Philip*.

They that enter into the Particulars of the Histories of those Times, will be at a Loss, almost, to reconcile *Alva's* Allegiance to his Master (which certainly was never suspected) with the Measures he persisted in, with Regard to these Provinces, after a Conclusion of a War that had turned out so unexpectedly in his Favour. Common Prudence ought to have suggested Lenity, one would imagine, to a Man in his Station, after he had cleared the *Low-Countries* of the *Germans*, and restored Tranquility throughout his Government ; having so newly felt the sad Effects of his former violent Proceedings : But so far was this arbitrary and cruel *Spaniard* from profiting by the late Danger he had brought his Affairs into, that he bent his whole Thoughts upon new Methods of distressing

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distressing the People, loading them with unprecedented Imposts, in order to make good the Expence of the late War ; which Tyranny was so far from answering the End he proposed, that, even at *Brussels*, the Place of his Residence, and where he was most likely to strike Terror on that Account ; upon his publishing an Edict for collecting the Tax, the Non-compliance with his Orders was universal, the Tradesmen shutting up their Markets and Shops, and Inn-keepers, &c. their Houses.

The Prince of *Orange*, ever upon the Watch, for proper Occasions to shake off the *Spanish* Yoke, could not have wished for a luckier Incident than this ill-timed Severity. He made all the right Use of it that became a Man of his Interest and Wisdom ; and at the same Time that he went on deliberately in the levying of a new Land Force, gave Count *Lq Mark*, and several other Noblemen, Commissions and Letters of Mart, to scour the *Flemish* and *Dutch* Coasts. This, after they had effectually executed, for some Time, to the no small Inconveniency of the *Spanish* Traders, being in the utmost Distress, for want of an Harbour to retreat into ; a Storm happening to drive their little Fleet towards *Brill*, near the Mouth of the *Maese*, Despair put them upon attacking that Place, which being, by a peculiar Fatality, unprovided with Troops, at that Juncture, fell into their Hands with scarce any Resistance ;
and

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and, notwithstanding an Effort the *Spaniards* made to regain it, a few Days after, was maintained by the Male-content Party, whose Deliverance may properly be dated from that fortunate Epoch.

A Success so providential, and unlooked for, was followed by an immediate Declaration of almost all the Provinces of *Holland*, and the entire one of *Zeeland* (*Middleburg* excepted) in Favour of the Prince of *Orange* and the Confederacy: Nay, the Disaffection to *Philip* went that Length, in some Places, that the very Burghers fell upon the *Spanish* Garisons, Sword in Hand, as at *Flushing* particularly, an Harbour of Importance in *Zeeland*, where the People, animated by a *Dutch* Priest, even upon an *Easter-Day*, no less remarkable for this Mutiny, than it had formerly been for the Extirpation of the *French* in *Sicily*, drove out *Alva's* Troops, with some Bloodshed, and hanged, at the common Gallows, Don *Alvarez Pacheco*, the Duke's Kinsman, at the Request of one of their Citizens, as a just Sacrifice to the Manes of his Brother, whom *Alva*, four Years before, had caused to be pulickly executed in *Brussels*.

But all this, and the almost general Revolution moreover of *Zutphen*, *Overissel*, *Frizeland*, and *Guelderland*, which had followed the Example of their Sister Provinces, went nothing near so much to *Alva's* Heart, as the News he received

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received of Count *Lodowick's* taking *Mons*, in *Hainault*, by the Assistance of the *French*. This he resolved to re-conquer, at all Hazards, and that Resolution proved a seasonable Respite to the revolted Cities, in the opposite Part of the *Low-Countries*; which gained, by that Means, all the Leisure they could wish for, to put themselves in a Posture of Defence.

While *Alva* was wholly taken up by the Siege above-mentioned, where he met with an unexpected Resistance from Count *Lodowick*, *La Noue*, and many other brave Officers, as well *German* as *French*, the vigilant Prince of *Orange* passed the *Rhine* and *Meuse*, once more, at the Head of 18000 Horse and Foot, (the Charge of whom *France* had promised to defray) and *Ruremonde* having opened her Gates to him, obtained, by that Means, an Inlet into *Brabant*. In his March he appeared before *Louvain*, which presented him with 16,000 Crowns; from whence advancing towards *Mechlin*, where he found the Gates open to him, as he did in many other Places, either out of Love or Fear, he penetrated, at Length, into *Hainault*, in Sight of the Duke of *Alva's* Camp.

The Duke, one of the most experienc'd Captains of his Age, had exhausted his whole Art, as well to render this Circumvallation impregnable to any Troops that should come to the Relief of *Mons*, as to make it Proof to all Sal-
lies

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lies and Efforts from the Town itself. His admirable Disposition, however, was far from daunting the heroick Prince; and, therefore, notwithstanding his Disappointment by *Genlis's* Defeat (who, in bringing some *French* Auxiliaries to join him, had too unadvisedly hazarded a Battel with *Frederick* of *Toledo*, Son to *Alva*) he was labouring his utmost to draw the *Spaniard* out of his Trenches, when, upon the Receipt of the fatal News of the Massacre of *St. Bartholomew* *, which, among many other brave Friends, had deprived him of the great *Coligni* (thereby cutting off all his Hopes of more Assistance from that Corner) justly afraid of a general Desertion of the *French* under his Command, he gave his Brother to understand the Situation of Affairs, requiring him to make a Composition upon the best Terms he could, and then, by slow Marches retreated towards the *Rhine*.

The Prince was scarce ever in greater Danger than he happen'd to find himself upon this March; for a Body of 800 *Spanish* Horse, and 200 select Foot, having been detach'd to surprise his Quarters, broke into his Side of the Camp with that Fury in the Night Time, killing all they met in their way, that but for a little Dog, who usually lay upon his Bed, and never ceas'd barking and scratching him, 'till such

† So called, because it was begun on that Day, in *Charles IX's* Reign; 100,000 People perished in it, and many of the greatest Quality; as the Admiral, his Son-in-Law *Telegni*, the Count of *Roche-fort*, &c.

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such time as the Prince awoke, it would scarce have been possible for him to escape falling into their Hands. Sensible of the Danger he was in, he immediately jump'd out of Bed, and running half naked, Sword in Hand, to join the Body of his Troops, from whence many were hastening to succour him, gave those Desperados so warm a Reception, that few of them got off to carry the News of their Disappointment. After this, having dismiss'd his Army at *Orsoy*, he retired to *Utrecht*, through the Province of *Overijssel*, and thence made the best of his Way into *Holland* and *Zeeland*, where the People were already dispos'd to receive him with open Arms. Here it is to be observed, that in an Assembly of the States of those two Provinces held at *Dort*, they had already acknowledg'd him as their Stadtholder or Governor, and tendered their Oaths accordingly to *Philip de Marinix*, Lord of St. *Aldegonde*, his Procurator, promising to stand by the Prince with their Lives and Fortunes; and the said Dignities were transmitted down to his Posterity, which ended in King *William* of glorious Memory.

Immediately, therefore, after his Arrival in those Provinces, he proceeded to the Nomination of Officers under him, confirming *Theodoric de Sonoy*, a *Frizelander*, in the Lieutenancy of *North-Holland*, and constituting *Charles* and *Lewis Boiscot*, two of the proscrib'd *Brussellers*,
who

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who had follow'd his Fortune, the one Governor, and the other Admiral of *Flushing*.

As full a Power as this excellent Prince was vested withal (thro' the great Confidence the People reposed in him) he declined acting nevertheless, except in the Name of the States ; but to pass over many Instances of his signal Moderation in this respect, which endear'd him more and more to the Publick, I shall only observe, that in less than four Months there were got together, by his means, in the Harbour of *Flushing*, no less than an Hundred and Fifty Sail of Ships well mann'd and arm'd, a Force that for ten Years together never ceas'd to harass the *Spaniards*, to the absolute Ruin almost of their Commerce in the *German Ocean*, the *Dutch* receiving in all that Space of Time but one Overthrow of any Consequence.

Among other Alterations made by the Prince, he order'd, that whereas anciently there were but six Cities, which had Right of Suffrage, in the States ; that is to say, *Dort*, *Harlem*, *Leyden*, *Delft*, *Amsterdam*, and *Goude* ; there should be added twelve more to the six, viz. *Rotterdam*, *Gorcum*, *Schedam*, *Schonove*, the *Brill*, *Alkmaer*, *Horn*, *Enchuyssen*, *Edam*, *Munikedam*, *Medemblic*, and *Permeren*, to the end, that lying under Obligations to him for so signal an Honour, these Towns might prove the more affectionate to him in the Assembly of the States.

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He likewise banished out of the Churches the *Roman* Ceremonies, as well upon the Account of his own, and most of the Nobility's Opinion, in Religious Matters, as by a Difference in Point of Worship, the more to embitter the People against their old Masters. By these Means it was that the Prince of *Orange*, following the propheticall Counsel of Admiral *Coligni*, got that Footing in the *Low Countries*, which he afterwards maintained with so much Prudence, Integrity, and Fortitude, that all the Power of *Spain* was not able to shake it, tho' seconded by the Treasures of the *Indies*, and the Thunders of the *Vatican*.

The Duke of *Alva* having, as has been said, retaken *Mons*, dispatch'd his Son *Frederick* of *Toledo* to the Recovery of the revolted Cities in *Guelderland* and *Holland*. In his Way, the young Duke made a dreadful Example of *Malines*, for having open'd its Gates to the Prince, and then, after some little, vain Resistance from the Count of *Berghes*, got Possession of *Zutphen* and *Naarden*, but did not find the same Facility in reducing *Harlem* (where *Riperda*, a Gentleman of *Frizeland*, commanded) notwithstanding the Vow he had made, that he would be beholden to his Cannon alone for Admittance into that obstinate City.

I shall not enter into a Detail of so bloody and tedious a Siege, but only inform the Reader, *en gros*, that the *Harlemers*, after having endur'd the Extremities of as severe a Famine as that of *Saguntum*, by which no less than 13000 People, of all Ages, Sexes, and Conditions, perished, and persevered in the Defence of their almost desolate Walls for eight successive Months, 'till *La Mark's* and *Battenburg's* Overthrow cut all Possibility of Succour from them, were at last forc'd to submit to the dreadful Condition of a discretionary Surrender, the Consequence of which, was nothing but Executions for several Days running. Among 2000 Inhabitants, who fell Martyrs to the Cause of Liberty, during this Riot of Devils, as it may with Justice be called, neither Magistrates, military Officers, nor Ecclesiasticks, found any Quarter; and the first Victims of all were *Riperda*, the brave Governor, and a natural Son of the Marquis of *Brederode's*, who had their Heads struck off.

These Cruelties were so far from advancing the Interest of *Spain*, that they prov'd rather an Obstacle to it; the Resistance of other Towns increasing in Proportion to their Despair of finding Mercy, if they followed the Example of *Harlem*. This caused *Alva's* Troops to meet with an unexpected Repulse at *Alkmaar*, in *North-Holland*, while the Prince of *Orange* found

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his Conquest of *Gertruydenberg* facilitated by it; no small Security to the City of *Dort*, and of Consequence to *Rotterdam* itself.

Middleburg, on the other Hand, the Capital of *Zeeland*, defended for two Years with incredible Obstinacy by *Mondragone*, after several Millions expended by the *Spaniards* in vain Attempts to relieve it, was surrendered at last to the Troops of the States. A Prize of this Consequence, and the total Defeat moreover of a *Spanish* Fleet, that came to raise the Siege, thrown into the Account, with an Admiral slain, more than ballanc'd the Loss suffer'd at *Harlem*.

Philip, a little before this, had begun to open his Eyes, and convinc'd by so many Years Experience of the Prejudice his Affairs had receiv'd from *Alva's* Severity, determin'd to change him for a Governor of a milder Disposition: This was *Don Lewis Requesens*, great Commander of the Order of *St. Jago*.

Requesens sat out in his new Administration but unsuccessfully, having been Eye-witness to the burning and stranding of the above-mentioned *Armada*, in Sight of *Middleburg*, but prov'd more fortunate on Land, as the Prince of *Orange* experienc'd to his Loss. Never did that great Man stand more in need of all his Fortitude, than at this Time, to resist the Weight of the
Blow

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Blow he receiv'd in the Death of his two valiant, and almost only surviving Brothers, *Lodowick* and *Henry*; who, together with an Army of new *German* Levies, consisting of 7000 Foot, and 4000 Horse, were cut to pieces near *Nimeguen*, by *Saucko D'Avila*, a Veteran *Spaniard*. Their old Ally the Duke of *Deuxponts*, perish'd in the same unlucky Engagement; and this was the third or fourth Time that the common Cause was brought to the very Brink of Ruin by the mutineering *Germans*, who, in those Days, scarce ever saw an Enemy approach, but they importun'd their Commanders for their Arrears.

The *Spaniards*, flush'd with this Victory, invested *Leyden* immediately on all Sides, which, being a populous City, and where there was little Expectation of a Siege, found itself in a short Time almost in the desperate Case of *Harlem*; yet such was the Resolution of the Defendants, that they resolv'd to abide the very worst of Extremities, rather than deliver up the Town; and having, by the means of Pigeons train'd up for that Purpose (a Way of conveying Intelligence formerly much in Use) inform'd the Prince of their imminent Danger, exerted themselves in the mean time, Students and all, in that vigorous Manner, that has render'd their Memory immortal, and procur'd them * those noble Privileges.

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* *Leyden* was made an University upon this.

The Prince judging rightly, that in a Case of that desperate Nature, as desperate a Remedy was absolutely needful, having caused about two hundred flat-bottomed Boats to be prepared, some of twelve, fourteen, and even sixteen Oars, the largest of which carried each of them two Guns; after they had been freighted with Provisions of all Sorts, manned them with Sailors from *Zeeland*; and when all was in Readiness, made Breaches in the Damms that laid all the Country under Water, and opened the besieged an Intercourse, with all the Towns and Villages for forty Miles round. The *Spaniards* had scarce Time to nail up their Cannon, and fling them into the Ditches, before their Camp was all overflowed, and had the Mortification, in their precipitate Retreat, to see *Leyden* receive a double Relief at once, from the Misery of Famine, and the Apprehension of an Enemy. Such a Confusion as this could not happen without great Loss on their Side, especially as the incensed Boors pursued them, in their Boats, with long Grappling-Irons, by which Means many were taken, but abundance more drowned.

The Prince of *Orange*, after this *Coup de Maitre*, was received into *Leyden* as their Tutelar Deity; for him, alone, did they look upon, under God, as the Means of their Deliverance, inasmuch as he had said, in the Assembly of the *States*, where his Proposal of breaking the
Damm

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Damm met with strong Opposition at first, *That a Country dispeopled was better than a Country lost*; and had brought the Dissidents into his Measures by downright Force of superior Reason.

To compensate this Defeat, in some Measure, *Requesens* reduced *Zurickzee*, but, taken off by a violent Sickness soon after, did not live to enjoy the Fruits of his Victory; his Death was the Forerunner of infinite Disorders, for scarce was he laid in his Grave, when his Soldiers, who were a Medley of several Nations, grown insolent upon the Score of their Merits, and looking upon themselves as in a State of Anarchy, deaf to all the Remonstrances of their Officers, under Pretence of Want of Pay, over-run the Province of *Brabant*, leaving but a few *Wal-loons* to guard *Zurickzee*. After they had ravaged the Country like Madmen, at last their Rage vented itself upon *Mastricht* and *Antwerp*, the Plunder of which two Cities, exceeded twenty Millions of Florins. This was a fatal Stroke to *Philip's* Affairs, for all the Provinces of the *Netherlands*, *Luxemburg* alone excepted, shook off the *Spanish* Yoke from that Time, throwing themselves under the Prince of *Orange's* Protection, and soon after was concluded, in 1576, the famous Association of *Ghent*, in which they mutually swore Assistance to each other in the most solemn Manner, and to labour unanimously in delivering the whole Country

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from such a merciless Bondage. The Castles of *Ghent*, *Valenciennes*, *Cambray*, *Utrecht*, and *Groninguen*, were demolished in Pursuance of this Treaty, and all *Frizeland* declared for the States.

To remedy these Disorders, Don *John* of *Austria* (a Prince of the highest Reputation, upon the Account of the Victory of *Lepanto*) was dispatched into the *Netherlands* as Successor to *Requesens*. As he was observed to carry himself with a surprising Gentleness and Affability, the Prince of *Orange*, who never failed to fathom the Intrigues and Artifices of *Spain*, warned the *Netherlanders* to be upon their Guard, and lend a deaf Ear to all the flattering Promises Don *John* was daily making them on the King's Behalf (not without Hints of his own Disapprobation of the Duke of *Alva's* violent Measures) assuring them, that Monarchs once provoked, tho' seeming, out of Policy, to dissemble Injuries, were not used to bury them in Oblivion, but only till the Victim was sure, and the Prevention of the Stroke they designed, out of the Power of him it was to fall upon.

They suffered themselves, however, to be lured into what was called a perpetual Edict, signed *February* 17, in 1577, concluded between the States of the *Low-Countries* on the one Part, and the King of *Spain* on the other, at the Mediation of the Emperor *Rodolphus*, and the Duke

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Duke of *Cleve* and *Juliers*, whereby the holding of the States-General was agreed to, as well as the clearing those Provinces of the *Spaniards* and *Germans*, with this farther Clause, That these Troops should leave behind them, in all the Places they stood possessed of, all their Provision, Ammunition, and Artillery: But against this Edict did the Prince of *Orange*, and the States of *Holland* and *Zeeland*, enter a solemn Protestation; alledging, That many Points, such as concerned religious Matters particularly, were not sufficiently reconciled and explained.

No sooner was Don *John* received, with great Pomp, into *Brussels*, and fixed in his Government, but the States were convinced, to their Sorrow, of the Truth and Reasonableness of the Princes Admonitions. Of this appeared an incontestable Proof, in certain intercepted Letters, decyphered by *Philip de Marnix*; the Purport of which were, Private Instructions to Don *John* to cut them, and their Adherents, off: Sensible of the Snare they had been led into, they resolved to extricate themselves while yet the Evil was not pass'd Cure; and therefore, while Don *John*, on his Part, seized the Castles of *Namur* and *Charlemont*, recalled his foreign Troops, and made other warlike Dispositions, the States got the Start of him at *Antwerp*, where they demolished the Castle, and hastened, after that, to join the Prince of *Orange*,

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Orange, who was then on his Way to *Breda*, with his third Lady, *Charlotte de Bourbon*.

It is scarce credible with what triumphant Joy, People of all Conditions flocked, upon this Occasion, to meet and welcome the Prince into *Brabant*, centring all their Hopes and Wishes in him, as in a kind of *Palladium*, under the Wing of whose Protection they looked upon themselves to be Armour Proof against Oppression and Tyranny.

After he had there received and accepted an Invitation made him, in Form, from the States General, to come and visit them at *Antwerp*, the Burghers went out of the Town several Miles, in order to meet his Highness, and had no sooner conducted him into their City, but the Abbots of *Villiers* and *Marolles*, were deputed from the States General, with the Barons of *Fresin* and *Capres*, to beseech him to come, with all Speed, to *Brussels*, whither he proceeded, by Water, in a Barge, the Burghers of *Antwerp* marching on the one Side of the Canal, and those of *Brussels* on the other; and being received into the City with extraordinary Pomp, and the Congratulation of all the People, he was declared Governor of *Brabant*, and Superintendant of the Revenues of the Provinces.

And

And here we are to observe, that, tho' the Life of this same noble and heroick Prince, seemed, upon many Occasions, to be a kind of Series of adverse Fortune, enough to have got the better of a Resolution less determined and undaunted than his; yet, had he, on the other Hand, frequently those pleasing Intervals of Joy and Satisfaction, that human Nature, in Despite of the most rigid Stoicism, cannot but be sensibly affected with, when an eminent Patriot finds himself the Object of the Acclamations of a People, of whose Hearts and Affections he knows himself secure; in a Case like this more especially, when received with such Triumph, in that very Place where his Enemies, not many Years before, had proscribed him, and sacrificed the dearest of his Relations and Friends, to their implacable Malice.

But as Virtue is seldom unattended by Envy, and the clearer, and the more unblemished, a Great Man's Character is, the more obnoxious he becomes to People of a different Turn; it was not possible, for a Prince of his Merit, newly vested with such an Authority, tho' due to his Birth, Honour, Integrity, and, above all, to his consummate Experience, not to draw upon himself the Ill-will of many, as, indeed, he soon did; nor was it less natural for those to whom his illustrious Qualities gave Umbrage, to seek to dispossess him; to which

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End they, underhand, sent the *Sieur de Malstrade* to the Archduke, *Matthias*, Brother to the Emperor *Rodolphus*, to offer him the Government of the *Netherlands*. The Persons who joined in this Invitation, were the Duke of *Arschot*, the Marquis of *Havré* his Brother, the Count of *Lalaing*, and his Brother the Baron of *Montigni*, the Count of *Egmont*, the Viscount of *Ghent*, and several others; and so great was the Dispatch their Envoy made, and with such Secrecy did *Malstrade* acquit himself of his Commission, that *Matthias* was already at *Cologne*, before the Deputation, to fetch him from *Vienna* to the *Netherlands*, had so much as taken Air.

The View of those Lords, in an Intrigue so clandestinely carried on, was twofold. They proposed, in the first Place, to share the Administration among them, under the Archduke; and secondly, by giving the Prince of *Orange* a Master, as it were, of that exalted Rank, to sink his Credit entirely, and put his Power, at best, but upon a Level with their own.

The Prince, of a far superior Reach than all these Grandees put together, and perfectly sensible of the delicate Situation of Affairs, dissembling his Resentment at the Ill-usage, as he knew to comply with Necessity better than any Man, passed it off in a modest Remonstrance to the Assembly of the States, complaining,
that,

that, in an Affair of that mighty Importance, he should not have been consulted as well as the rest; as it had been a Preliminary to their late Union especially, that no material Resolution should be taken, without the Consent of the whole Body of the States; but added withal, That for his Part, he should be far from opposing either the Reception of, or Honour intended, to the Prince they had sent for, as not calling the Prudence of their Motives in Question in the least.

The Archduke being arrived at *Brussels*, pursuant to his Invitation, and received with the utmost Magnificence, it was not many Days before the Prince (to whose Secrecy the Success of all his Endeavours was chiefly owing) having brought the Count of *Lalaing*, General of the States Army, over to his Side, insinuated himself so far, both in the Archduke's good Graces (to whom his extraordinary Capacity was not unknown) and those of the Majority of the States, that in the Nomination of a Lieutenant-General, under the Archduke (who had been constituted Governor under certain Restrictions) he carried it from all his Competitors, and by his admirable Management in gaining a Point of that Consequence, not only defeated all the Schemes of the Duke of *Arschot*, his principal Opposer, but caused him to be arrested likewise, with the Bishops of *Ypres* and *Bruges*, and the rest of his Adherents.

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Don *John* of *Austria*, on the other Hand, by this Time declared a publick Enemy throughout the whole *Netherlands*, having got together an Army, made up partly out of the recalled *Italians* and *Spaniards*, and partly out of *German* Auxiliaries, met and defeated the Forces of the States, commanded by the *Sieur de Joignies*, taking the Advantage of the Count *de Lalaing*, and the principal Officers being absent, upon the Account of the Celebration of a Wedding at *Brussels*. It is true, this was, in some Measure, compensated by the Reduction of *Amsterdam*, which surrendered to the States, within eight Days after their Defeat at *Gemblours*, and became re-united to the Province of *Holland*.

Don John, flusht with his Victory, march'd with a numerous Force to the Attack of the States Army, commanded by the Count of *Bossu* at *Rimenant*, near *Mechlen*; but so well intrenc'd did he find that prudent General, and every way provided to defend himself, that he was oblig'd to a precipitate and ignominious Retreat, with no small Loss of his Soldiers; and had the over-wary Count pursu'd his Advantages (for the Neglect of which he was highly censur'd) the total Overthrow of all *Don John's* Army must have been the inevitable Consequence.

While

While the Chiefs on both Sides were trying in this Manner the Fortune of the Field, the Assembly of the States General passed that famous Edict of Toleration, in religious Affairs, throughout the *United Provinces*; but as this was not done by the universal Consent of the associated Body, it gave Birth to a third Faction, called the *Malecontent Party*. At the Head of this were the Baron of *Montigni* (*Lalaing's* Brother) the Viscount of *Ghent*, the Baron *de Capres*, and many other Lords, who were instrumental to the Defection of *Hainault* and *Artois*, which returned to the Obedience of *Spain* all the Endeavours of the States to the contrary notwithstanding.

The Confederates, reinforc'd by a fresh Body of *German* Troops, began now to make Overtures to *Don John*, to whom it was propos'd, among other Points, to resign all his Pretensions to the Government of the *Netherlands*, upon the same Terms which they themselves had sworn to, and to make the States Restitution moreover of *Hainault*, and the Places he was yet Master of in *Brabant*. While these Negotiations were on Foot, *Don John*, infirm of Body, and troubled in Mind beyond Measure, at the Reasons he had to think his Conduct not unsuspected at the Court of *Madrid*, chiefly upon the sudden Death of his Secretary *Escoveda*, suppos'd to have been occasioned by Poyson,

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Poyson, ended the Course of a glorious Life, in his Camp at *Namur*.

Philip was not long in providing that Prince a Successor equal in Reputation to him; and this was the great *Alexander Farnese*, Son to the Dutchess *Margaret*, whose obliging Deportment, on his first Arrival in the *Netherlands*, and the large Promises he flattered many People with, drew off abundance of Members from the Confederacy, to the no small weakening of the Patriot Party, which nothing less than a Man of the Prince of *Orange's* Vigilance could have kept from a total Dissolution: But so indefatigably active was this illustrious Hero, that even in that Juncture of Time, when so consummate a Statesman was counter-plotting him; he laid the strongest Foundation Stone of the Republick of the *Low Countries*, in the strict Union brought about by his Means, and sign'd at *Utrecht* on the 22d of *January* 1579) between the Provinces of *Gelderland*, *Utrecht*, *Holland*, *Zutphen*, *Frizeland*, *Zeeland*, and the *Ommelands*. This famous Treaty consisted of Twenty-five Articles, the chiefest of which were;

I. That the Provinces thus united should assist each other, mutually, against the common Enemy: And,

II. That they should enter into no Treaty of Peace or War, but with the common Consent
of

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of all, yet without Prejudice to the Customs or Privileges of any of the Provinces. It was then the Device of *Concordiâ res parvæ crescunt*, borrowed from the Words of *Micipsa* in *Salust*, was first assumed by the States of these Provinces, to denote the absolute Necessity for the Union they had agreed to.

But the Prince, shortly after, perceiving the daily Decay in the Strength of the States General, partly by Reason of the Defection of *Hainault* and *Artois*, as has been said; and partly thro' some of their own Members being lured away by the Duke of *Parma*, laid before them the Perils they were surrounded with, in so pathetic a Manner, as well, in Case they listened to the deceitful Promises of *Spain*; as if they continued in their present weak and defenceless Situation; that he paved an easy Way to his Proposal, of chusing the Duke of *Anjou* and *Alençon*, only Brother to *Henry III* of *France*, for their Protector and Sovereign.

This Motion having therefore been followed by a general Assent, *Philip de Marnix*, and other Lords, join'd in Commission with him, weré sent into *France* to treat with the said Duke; and there it was agreed, that the States of *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Utrecht*, *Frizeland*, &c. should acknowledge him as their Sovereign, but with these Conditions, however, expressly stipulated, 1st, That he should at-

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tempt no Change in Matters of Religion, and preserve the Provinces, their Privileges and Immunities. *2dly*, That the States should assemble by his Order once a Year, but be allowed full Liberty to sit oftner, if Occasion required it. *3dly*, That he should dispose of no Employments in the Government, without the Approbation of the States. And, *4thly*, and *lastly*, That should he go about to violate the Privileges of any one Province, his Sovereignty should be forfeited, *ipso facto*, they absolved from their Oaths, and at Liberty to chuse another Sovereign.

As this Proceeding could not be a Secret to the Arch-Duke, that Prince, finding his longer Presence in the *Netherlands* unnecessary, inasmuch as they had Recourse to a Protection far more powerful than his; after having taken his Leave, and received, not only great Acknowledgments from the States, for the Favours he had confer'd on them, but likewise considerable Presents (for Men in their Circumstance especially) left *Brussels*, augmented in Wealth at least, if not in Power, and went back again for *Germany*.

The Prince of *Orange*, in the mean Time, used his utmost Diligence to hasten the Duke of *Alençon's* Journey, as being perfectly sensible how much it stood him in Hand, in so delicate a Conjunction, to have the Support of so great a Prince's

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a Prince's Presence, and the rather, as a most flagrant Manifesto had been publish'd against him in the same Year 1580, by King *Philip*; wherein he found himself calumniated in the most opprobrious Manner, charg'd with Ingratitude, Rebellion, Heresy, Sacrilege, and what not: At the End of the same virulent Libel, there was likewise a formal Outlawry and Proscription, setting his Head at a Price, with an Assurance of a Princely Reward to him, or them, that should bring him into *Spain* either dead or alive.

The Prince was not wanting to himself, upon this remarkable Occasion, but made his own Apology publick, replying, Paragraph by Paragraph to every Particular; yet before he caused it to be disperfed, had it read and examined in a full Assembly of the States General, not without some Hints, that they would oblige him very much in giving it the Sanction of their own exprefs Signatures; in this Point, however, most of the Deputies excused themselves, especially, as the Answer related to personal Injuries in great Measure, of which they could not be competent Judges; besides, that the Whole seemed to be conceived in Terms some-what too severe and picquant to be used to a Crown'd Head of *Philip's* Figure and Consequence.

Nevertheless, a publick Instrument was signed by them, in which they declared the Prince wrongfully accused ; and that it was at their own repeated Desire, that he had accepted of the Administration (in assuming of which, *Philip* had branded him with the Name of Usurper) and suffered a Guard for the Security of his Person, at the Expence of the States. At the same Time, they most earnestly besought his Highness to persevere in the Maintenance of their Liberty, promising all Obedience and Submission to his Commands and Counsels, which they acknowledg'd to have no other Aim, but their Safety and Preservation.

If the Prince, on the one Hand, could not but feel the highest Concern at the above-mentioned Manifesto ; so was he most sensibly affected, on the other, at the Duke of *Parma's* surprising *Breda*, a Town, that with the Territory round it made a considerable Part of his Patrimony, and in the Loss of which, the Publick Interest moreover suffer'd not a little. This double Affliction was in some Measure alleviated by the News of the Duke of *Alençon's* actual March, at the Head of a numerous Force, to the Relief of *Cambray*, at that Time besieged by the Duke of *Parma*, who finding himself inferior in Strength to his Adversary, retired hastily from before the Town, upon certain Intelligence of his Approach. The Prince had the Consola-

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tion, moreover, to see his Vengeance carry'd the greatest Length against *Philip*, by the Behaviour of the States; for as soon as they heard of the Duke of *Alençon's* being advanced to their Frontiers, then did they proceed to declare the Right of Sovereignty to the *Netherlands*, forfeited by the King of *Spain*, to break his Seals to Pieces, to pull down his Arms, and renounce all future Allegiance to him or his Successors. Neither could the Duke of *Parma* deter them from this by his Success at *Tournay*, which fell into his Hands, after a most vigorous Defence, under the Conduct of that *Heroine*, the Princess of *Epinoy*, who received a Wound in her Arm by a Musket Ball, as she was animating the Garrison by her *Amazonian Example*.

The sharp Season causing a kind of Truce after this, the Duke of *Alençon* made a Voyage into *England*, where he had been flattered with a vain Prospect of espousing Queen *Elizabeth*; and after having resided some Time at that Court, where he was entertain'd in a most splendid Manner, return'd to *Flushing* in the Depth of Winter, loaded with Presents, but frustrated of Hopes; and having walk'd on Foot from thence to *Middleburg*, he was there met by the Princes of *Orange* and of *Epinoy*, who conducted him to *Antwerp*. Being received in that City with universal Acclamations, and the utmost Pomp and Magnificence,

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ficence, he was invested by the Prince of *Orange* with the Ducal Bonnet, Mantle, and other Ensigns of Sovereignty: After which, in the Presence of the States, the Magistrates of *Antwerp*, and in Sight of an infinite Multitude from all Parts of the *Netherlands*, he took the Oaths that were tender'd him, regularly to observe the Treaty concluded with the States, to have a strict Regard to the Privileges of the Country, and govern according to Justice; and this being done, the States and Magistracy swore Fidelity and Allegiance to the Duke, as to their undoubted and legitimate Prince. An unfortunate Accident that beset the Prince of *Orange* soon after, cast a Cloud, as it were, over all those Rejoicings and Triumphs, for it was not possible that some Villain or other could long be wanting to enterprize against so precious a Life, from the Prospect of so vast a Reward, as that, which was promised in the King of *Spain's* Manifesto. *John Javregny*, a *Biscayner*, was the first, who from this Diabolical Instigation, undertook to dispatch the Prince, by discharging a Pistol at him; but providentially miss'd his Aim, the Ball which enter'd under the Prince's right Ear, going out thro' his left Cheek, without hurting him any otherways, than by the Loss of two or three Teeth, which the Lead broke in its Passage.

In the first Alarm of this Assassinate, the *French* were suspected as the Authors of it, and the

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the People already running to their Arms to cut them to Pieces ; but the Papers found in *Javregny's* Pocket, who was slain the very Instant by the Prince's Halberdeers, soon discovered whence the Blow came ; and that King *Philip's* 25,000 Crowns promised in the Manifesto, had been the *Biscayner's* Motive to this unparallel'd and daring Piece of Villany ; and this the Prince certify'd himself, notwithstanding the Pain he was in, by a Letter under his own Hand, to the Magistrates of *Antwerp*.

It is not to be expressed how universal a Lamentation the Prince's Wound occasion'd thro' *Antwerp*. A publick Fast was ordain'd by the Magistrates for his Highness's Recovery, nor did the People cease putting up fervent Prayers in all the Churches, till they received positive Assurances, that the Wound was not Mortal. But a few Days having convinced them, that he was perfectly out of Danger ; then were their Supplications changed into as hearty Thanksgivings ; for the Prince was look'd upon as the common Father of them all.

He was no sooner able to get abroad again, but the Duke of *Alençon* desired his Company in a little Tour to *Ghent* and *Bruges*, where there was a Discovery made of a second Plot against both their Lives. This was carried on for a Reward of 4000 Crowns, the Duke of *Parma* had pay'd them before Hand, by *Nicolas Salcedo*,

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Salcede, a *Spaniard*, and *Francis Baza*, an *Italian*; being apprehended, and having both agreed in their Confession, *Salcede* was sent to *Paris*, where he was torn alive by four Horses upon the *Greve*, but *Baza* put an End to his own Life, to avoid the Tortures prepared for him.

But now the ill-advifed Duke of *Alençon*, open to Flattery, and, like *Reboboam*, giving too eafily into the pernicious Counfels of certain youthful and giddy Favourites, as *Fervagues*, *St. Aignan*, *Rochepot*, and others, neglecting to take, for his Directors, the Prince of *Orange*, the Duke of *Monpensier*, Count *Laval*, and other Perfons of Wifdom, Probity and Weight, who would have pointed out that Track to him, in which he could not have trod amifs; in Defiance to his Oath, to his Honour, to common Reason, and common Equity, took it into his Head that he had only the Shadow of Sovereignty, while the Prince, in Effect, governed every thing, and was rash enough to form a Scheme for furprizing and feizing the principal Places in the *Netherlands*, as *Dunkirk*, *Dendermonde*, *Bruges*, nay, *Antwerp* itfelf, all in one and the fame Day. His Pretence for an Act of this flagrant Violence and Injuftice, was the Difcovery of a Design, as he faid, to murder him in his Palace, by which he was difcharged from his Oath; and tho' his Project fucceeded in fome of the Towns, yet meeting with a Defeat in others, as at *Antwerp* more particularly, where
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the Gates were shut upon him just in the critical Juncture, and all the *French* within the Walls, who could not be assisted from without, massacred without Mercy; being disappointed, I say, in this Manner, he precipitately quitted the *Netherlands*, in which his Reputation, as well as Authority, had received so fatal a Stroke; and, retiring to his Estate of *Chateau Thierry*, broke his Heart there soon after; the Victim of a misguided Ambition, and a lamentable Example of what dangerous Rocks young Princes may split upon, when they suffer such Pilots to steer them, as want either Experience, or Honesty, or both.

This unhappy Adventure was laid hold of immediately to lessen the Prince of *Orange's* Credit, by his envious Ill-wishers, who were not wanting to insinuate, amongst the credulous Multitude, that he was himself at the Bottom of the *Alençonian* Conspiracy; which Belief was the easier wrought into them, as the Prince had lately taken a *French* Lady to his fourth Wife; I mean *Louise de Coligni*, Daughter to the late great Admiral. The Prince, hereupon, sensible as well of the Decline of his own Interest in the *Walloon* Provinces, as of the lessening Credit of the United States themselves, retired into *Holland*, where he flattered himself, he should not only be out of the Reach of those Enemies, to whom he was obnoxious, upon the Account of Religion, but also that his Person
would

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would be less exposed to villainous Attempts from the Hirelings of *Spain*. Then it was he fixed his Residence at *Delft*, purposing to pass the rest of his Days in as much Tranquility, as the Situation of Affairs would permit, among a People, not less devoted to him for his most obliging Deportment, than they were for so many eminent Services; when Providence suffered the bloody Purposes of *Spain* to take Effect, at last, in the Murther of this excellent Man, equal to the most renowned Patriots of Antiquity, by the Hands of one *Baltazar Gerard*, a *Franchecomtois*. This Assassin having insinuated himself in the good Graces of the Prince, by a long Habit of Hypocrisy*, shot him, with three Bullets, as he was rising from Dinner, in the Presence of his unconsolable Lady, and of his Sister the Countess of *Schwartzembourg*, the Prince having only Time, before he dropped down dead, to utter these Words, *Lord have Mercy on my Soul, and upon this poor People.*

Thus fell the Illustrious *William* of *Nassau Dillenburg*, Prince of *Orange*; a Man who had contrived,

* He pretended himself to be *Francis Guion*, a Native of *Bezancon*, Aged but 22, who had been a great Sufferer for the reformed Religion, which he seemed to profess, being generally with a Psalm Book, or New Testament about him; and always posting himself, at Sermon-time, in View of the Prince, who had, upon this Account, taken a particular Liking to him, and used frequently to trust him with Dispatches of Importance. He was, even at the Instant when he shot the Prince, waiting for a Pass upon some Business of Consequence. Notwithstanding that they put him to Death with the most exquisite Torments, he was scarce observed to utter a Groan; nor ever expressed the least Remorse, so thoroughly persuaded he was by the Priests, that he had done a meritorious Action:

contrived, carried on, and compassed, at Length, so hazardous, and so difficult a Work, as that of the Revolt and Union of the Seven Provinces, in Opposition to such experienced foreign Commanders, at the Head of *Veteran* Troops, and to such formidable domestick Cabals: Nor is it then to be wondered if the Consternation was universal at his Death, every *Hollander* bewailing him, as he would have done his dearest Relation; nor if his Obsequies were celebrated with that Solemnity we read of in the *Dutch* Historians of that Age; for the States, at whose Expence he was buried, under that noble Monument we see in the great Church of *Delft*, omitted no Circumstance that could add to the Royalty, as I may say, of the Funeral-Pomp; or make the World sensible of the Loss they had in the Person, to whose Ashes they were paying an Honour so well deserved.

As he was, with Regard to his Mind, a Prince that not often had his Equal; never his Superior, in Prudence, Fortitude, Magnanimity, Patience, and Moderation; so was he of a noble and majestick Person, strong and well-proportioned of Limbs, swarthy of Complexion, with Chesnut-Hair, but with a certain manly Sweetness in the whole Turn of his Features, which spoke that general Benevolence to Mankind, that used to distinguish the Prince of *Orange* in so eminent a Manner from all others of his Rank. As for common Professions, and what

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what the World calls Compliment, they were Things quite out of his Way, and which, a Sincerity like his, would, by no Means, admit of; tho', at the same Time, he would, in the most affable Manner, return the meanest Burgher his Salute, rarely walking the Streets with his Hat on, and not scruple a thousand little neighbourly Offices, as he had been but a Fellow-Citizen with them, even to the composing of domestick Quarrels, between People in the lowest Life; frequently telling his Familiars, who objected to him these Condescensions, *That there was not so easy a Purchase in the World as the Love of a People.*

The first of his four Wives was *Anne* of *Egmont*, Daughter of *Maximilian* of *Egmont*, Count of *Buren* and *Leerdam*; to whom, as she was a great Heiress, he had been married in his Youth by the powerful Sollicitation of *Charles V.* By her he had *Philip William*, first Count of *Buren*, then Prince of *Orange*, and a Daughter named *Mary*, Wife to *Philip* Count of *Hohenloe*, an Heroine worthy of such a Father, and who had no small Share in supporting the drooping Spirits of the *Hollanders*, and opposing the Designs of the *Spaniards*, after the Blow we have been speaking of.

By his second Wife, *Anne*, Daughter to *Maurice*, the famous Elector of *Saxony* (who was so formidable an Adversary to *Charles V.*)
he

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he was Father to Count *Maurice* (Prince of *Orange*, after his Brother *Philip's* Death) concerning whom we shall have Occasion to speak hereafter, and to *Emilia**, who married *Emanuel*, Son of *Antony* (commonly called *the Bastard*) nominal † King of *Portugal*.

By his third, *Charlotte* of *Bourbon*, Daughter to the Duke of *Monpensier* (who died of the Fright the Prince's Wound receiv'd at *Antwerp* had thrown her into) he had the following Children:

I. *Juliana*, married to *Frederick* IV, Elector *Palatine*, by whom she had *Frederick* V, King of *Bohemia*, Great Grandfather to his Majesty.

II. *Elizabeth*, married to *Henry de la Tour*, Duke of *Bouillon*, a Prince of great Renown in the Civil Wars of *France*.

III. *Catherina Belgica*, married to *Philip Lewis*, Count of *Hanau*.

IV. *Charlotte Brabantine*, married to *Claude*, Duke of *Tremouille* and *Thouars*.

V. *Charlotte*

* This Princess, after the Decease of her Husband, who died of Sickness in *France*, retired to *Geneva*, with several Children, where she ended her Days, and lies buried in the great Church.

† He was natural Son to King *John* III, and Grand Prior of *Creta*: He put in his Pretensions to the Crown, after the Death of Cardinal *Henry*, who had succeeded his Nephew *Sebastian*; but being unable to maintain them against *Philip* II of *Spain*, tho' supported by several Powers, he retired into *France*.

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V. *Charlotte Flandrine*, who, turning *Roman Catholick*, died Abbess of *St. Croix* at *Poitiers*.

VI. *Emilia*, married to *Frederick Casimir*, Duke of *Lansberg*, of the *Palatine* Branch of *Deuxponts*.

By his fourth and last Wife, *Louise de Coligni*, Daughter, as heretofore mentioned, to the Great Admiral, he had the famous *Henry Frederic*, who, after the Death of his Brothers, *Philip* and *Maurice*, succeeded to the Principality of *Orange*.



PHILIP



PHILIP WILLIAM

O F

N A S S A U,

Prince of Orange.

THE Prince we are now about to speak of, had to his Godfather *Philip II*, King of *Spain*; by whom, as has been hinted in *Prince William's Life*, he was forced away, at the Age of thirteen, from the University of *Louvain*, in direct Violation of the Privileges of that Place, immediately upon his Father's taking Arms; *Vargas*, a *Spaniard*, being sent purposely on this Errand, with a Party of regular Troops, and executing his Master's Orders, in Defiance to the solemn Protests of the Rector of the University.

Philip William, Count of *Buren*, spirited away in this barbarous Manner, while his Father complained of the flagrant Injustice, to as little Purpose as the University had done, was carried away to *Spain*, where they immured him in the remote Solitude

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Solitude of a lonesome Castle in the Country, out of the Reach of Parent, Friends, or Tutor; allowing him, for the Space of thirty Years, little other Recreation than a Chess-board, or Company, than his Keeper; no farther Care of his Education being taken, while his Age would admit of any, than to infuse Popish Principles into him, from which he never departed to his dying Day.

Philip is said, notwithstanding this, to have had an excellent Capacity, which made the *Spaniards* the more watchful over him; but all the youthful Part of this Prince's Life passed in so obscure a Manner, has furnished us with only one Incident worthy the Reader's Notice, I mean his breaking the Neck of a *Spanish* Officer, set to guard him, by throwing him out of the Castle Window, for presuming, one Day, in his Presence, to talk disrespectfully of his heroick Father: So extraordinary a Case not a little perplexed King *Philip's* Council, when they came to deliberate upon what Notice was proper to take of it; but the Motives the Prince had for using this Violence appeared, at Length, so just and reasonable, the rather, as *Gabriel Oso*, a young Gentleman present when the Affair happened, gave his Evidence strong in his Favour, setting forth the *Spaniard's* Want of Respect to a Prince of *Philip's* Quality, that the Offence was overlooked; and the grateful young Prince, sensible of the Obligations he owed *Oso*,
had

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had him ever after in the highest Degree of Esteem and Favour.

After such a tedious Imprisonment, as had, in a manner, quite deprived the Prince of all Desire of Liberty, King *Philip*, whether out of Compassion, or Policy, is uncertain, thought fit, at last, to enlarge him; upon which, *Philip* accompanied Archduke *Albert* to the *Netherlands*, of which that Prince had been constituted Governor, and was, by the said *Albert*, appointed afterwards to go and receive his future Spouse, the Infanta *Iabella* (to whom the Seventeen Provinces had been given in Dowry) at the Hands of her Father *Philip*, as accordingly he did, and conducted her over from *Spain* to the *Low-Countries*; all *Europe* seeing, with Astonishment, a Trust of that Importance reposed in the Son of that very Prince who had wrested from *Philip* so considerable a Branch of the *Spanish* Dominion, and been declared a Rebel with Circumstances of so much Inveteracy and Rancour.

Count *Maurice* of *Nassau*, next younger Brother to *Philip* Prince of *Orange*, who, ever since his great Father's Death (to whom he had succeeded in the Government of the *United Provinces*, at the Age of Seventeen) gave, upon this Occasion, a Proof, how much his Soul was above the Temptation of Interest; for he freely and voluntarily resigned, to his elder Brother, the Enjoyment of the Revenues in all those Demesnes, of

F

which

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which he was in actual Possession, and that of Right belong'd to *Philip*, as *Breda*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, and other Places, tho' he forbore making him personal Visits, not to give Umbrage to the States of the Union, to whom the Prince of *Orange* was by no Means agreeable, as well upon the Account of the Religion he profess'd, as because of the Favour they saw him in, both with King *Philip* and Archduke *Albert*. It was for this Reason that, tho' he earnestly desired to make the *United Provinces*, and his Relations a Visit, yet the Proposal was always warmly rejected; and the rather because all his Estates in the *Spanish Netberlands* (which were considerable upon the Account of his Mother chiefly) together with those in the *Franche Compté*, had been restored to him by that Crown; insomuch, that he spent the rest of his Days at *Brussels*, near the Persons of *Albert* and *Isabella*, who held him in great Esteem; and as he took to Wife, moreover, a Princess so near in Blood to the *French King*, as *Eleonore de Bourbon*, Sister to the Prince of *Condé*, it was the Means of restoring him to the full Possession of his Principality and Castle of *Orange*. He died, without Issue, in 1618, and by his Decease, his Titles and Territories devolved upon Count *Maurice*.

MAURICE



MAURICE

OF

NASSAU,

Prince of Orange.

HISTORY can scarce produce an Instance of a Son, that pursued the Track of a glorious Father, with more Application, or greater Success, than *Maurice* Count of *Nassau* (even from the Year 1584, when the bloody Assassin we spoke of, murdered that Hero, to 1625, when Death put an End to *Maurice's* own Career) making good, by the whole Course of his Exploits, the Device of a tender Sapling, branching out from an Oak, with this Motto, *tandem fit furculus arbor* *, which he had assumed when he was little more than a Child.

A Youth of a less undaunted Spirit than was *Maurice*, aged at the Time of the old Prince's Death, as I have hinted before, but seventeen,

F 2

would

* Time will improve the Twig into a Tree.

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would have shuddered at the Thought of succeeding a Father, just sacrificed before his Eyes, as it were, in so exalted and invidious a Station, having such an Enemy to cope with especially, as *Alexander Farnese*, a General little inferior in Reputation to *Alva* himself; yet so far was this dangerous Situation from terrifying or astonishing Count *Maurice*, that it rather gave an Edge to his Courage, notwithstanding that Torrent of Success with which the Duke of *Parma* bore down all † Opposition for a while, taking Advantage of the Lethargy, into which the unspeakable Loss of the great Defender of the publick Liberty seemed to have plunged the poor Provinces of the Union.

As in order to stop the Rapidity of these impetuous Conquests, especially after the Duke's successful Enterprize upon *Antwerp* (a Place the World thought impregnable) the States judged it necessary to implore Queen *Elizabeth's* Protection, at that Time declared Enemy to King *Philip*, *Maurice* had the additional Mortification to find that he had a Master put over him, in the famous *Robert Dudley*, Earl of *Leicester*, of all Men the most insupportably proud, and inordinately ambitious: Yet, for several Years together, did the young Prince struggle with all these Adversities, and, at Length, by a Patience and Resolution, far above his Years, over-

came

† He took, in a few Months, *Bruges*, *Ghent*, *Dendermond*, *Deventer*, *Nimeguen*. *Groves*, and even *Antwerp* itself, after one of the most obstinate Sieges we read of in History.

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came them; to which, indeed, not a little contributed the total Defeat of the supposed invincible Armada, which was intended for the Conquest of one Country, and the Recovery of another; then did the young *Maurice* give the first Proofs of his Abilities for the Field, in forcing the old experienced Duke of *Parma* to raise the Siege of *Berghen-op-zoom*.

This breaking the Ice, as we may call it, of *Maurice's* good Fortune, was followed by a Series of Victories for twenty successive Years, the most considerable of which were, his Surprise of *Breda* †, in the Year 1590, and the Battles of *Turnhout* and *Newport*, the last, in 1600, fought against Archduke *Albert*, in Person, who narrowly escaped falling into his Hands, leaving behind him his Camp, Baggage, Colours, Artillery, abundance of Prisoners of Distinction, and a Field covered with Heaps of slaughtered *Italians* and *Spaniards*. The Marks of Magnanimity, *Maurice* shewed upon this memorable Occasion, came up to the greatest Instances of *Roman* and *Spartan* Valour; for having sent back the Vessels that had brought his Troops into *Flanders*, to cut off all Hopes of a Retreat; he told them, before they fell to Blows, *As they had the Enemy in their Front, and*
F 3 *the*

† This was brought about entirely by a Stratagem of his own Invention; a Boat laden with Turfs, under which he had concealed 60 brave Fellows, who being entered the Town in that Manner, fell upon the Guard, and secured a Gate, through which they let in their Friends: It is incredible what a Number of Places submitted to *Maurice* after this Success.

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the Sea in their Rear, that they must either vanquish or drown; for between the one, or the other, there was no Medium.

This youthful Ardour, in the Great Man we are speaking of, conspicuous as it was, whenever Occasion called for a resolute Stroke, was tempered with that Prudence, however, that he was never misguided by it into those inconsiderate Measures, the Result of too much Warmth, by which Generals of his Years have shipwrecked their Reputation, and run headlong to Ruin so frequently. A signal Instance of this Circumspection he gave at the Siege of *Gertruydenberg*, when *Mansfeld*, an old and experienced Soldier, commanding the *Spanish* Forces, in the Duke of *Parma's* Absence, with all the Wiles and Stratagems, a Service of forty Campaigns had taught him, was unable to draw his young Adversary out of those secure Posts, of which he had possessed himself; insomuch, that he reduced that strong and important Place, in Sight of an Army of 30,000 Veteran *Spaniards*, headed by one of the ablest Captains in *Europe*, with whose superior Force it had been the utmost Rashness to hazard a Battle, certain as he was, that the Town must infallibly submit, provided he did not leave his Intrenchments.

The *Spaniards* took *Ostend*, indeed, after three Years lying before it, notwithstanding all *Maurice's* Endeavours to keep himself in Possession

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sion of a Sea-port of that Consequence ; but the Gain of an Heap of Rubbish, and a mere empty Charnel-house (for to such a State had the Length of the Siege reduced it) was far from counterballancing 60,000 Men lost under the Walls of the Town, and 100,000,000 of Florins expended in the Conquest of it : But this was not all that their dear Purchase cost them ; for the active Prince soon got more than an Equivalent by the Reduction of *Sluys*, which proved of much greater Advantage to him ; and to them a Disappointment they could never retrieve. To this we must add a long Series of good Fortune upon the *Ocean*, even as far as the *Indian Seas*, where the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Navy scarce ever encountered, that the last did not come off with Profit as well as Victory, and once more particularly with an entire captive Flota.

The famous twelve Years Truce, of 1609, first fought for by *Albert* and *Isabella*, giving *Maurice* at last a Respite from a Scene of Blood, in which he had in a manner taken his Birth, he applied himself with a Diligence becoming the Son of the Founder of the Liberties of the *United Provinces*, in the Discharge of his great Office, cementing that Union still firmer and firmer, strengthening their Frontiers, enlarging their Naval Force, extending their Trade, and procuring the People, in Concert with the States, all those mighty Advantages that have made them that flourishing Nation they are, and

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which we see transmitted so happily to their present Descendants.

It was not possible for so excellent a Man not to meet with Enemies at Home as well as Abroad; these took their Advantage of the Truce, to sow the Seeds of Discontent, among a People newly enfranchised, and extreme jealous, of consequence, of every Thing that had the least Air of a Design upon their Liberty. The Differences of Opinion, in religious Matters, just then unhappily started between the *Arminians* * and *Gomarists*, blew these Sparks into a Flame: A Person of less Abilities than Prince *Maurice* had perished in it; but his Constancy and Innocence together, turned the Storm upon those who had aimed it at him; and he was forced, not without all the Reluctancy that became so generous a Mind, to give up to the popular Resentment, the great, but unfortunate, † *Barnevelt*, whose putting himself at the Head of the *Arminian* Faction, was a Proof too demonstrable of the Share he had had in fomenting those Divisions.

In 1621, the twelve Years Truce, between *Albert* and *Isabella* on the one Part, and the States

* From *Arminius* and *Gomar*, the two Ministers that began that famous Controversy about *Grace* and *Predestination*, to determine upon which the Synod of Divines was summoned to assemble at *Dort*, by Order of the States-General.

† A Statesman of most extraordinary Abilities, but who was for Innovations in the Republick, and being suspected of underhand Intrigues with *Spain*, lost his Head upon a Scaffold, at the Age of 72, in 1679, to the great Grief of all that knew him.

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States General of the *United Provinces* on the other, drawing near its End, the President *Pecquins* was sent to the *Hague*, by the Archduke, with certain Proposals for the Renewal of it, which, as they derogated from the Honour and Independance of that illustrious Body, were rejected with Contempt, the Minister himself that brought them being ordered hastily out of their Dominions; for, whereas, *Albert* wanted a fresh Truce, upon other Conditions, the States were for prolonging the old one, and thus the Negotiations being dropped, every thing was disposed on either Side, for reviving of Hostilities.

It was much about this Time that the King and Queen of *Bohemia* (the bad Success of the Battle of *Prague* having drove them out of their Dominions) after many providential Escapes, came to the *Hague* for a Retreat, where nothing was omitted either by the States, or the Prince of *Orange* (for *Maurice* was now so by his Brother's Death) that could make their Majesties sensible how sincere a Part they both took in their Sufferings.

Soon after this, the famous Marquis *Ambrose* * *Spinola* having taken the Field, at the Head of 15,000 Foot and 4,000 Horse, proceeded towards *Mastricht*, where he passed the *Meuse*; and penetrating into the Dutchy of *Juliers*, began

* Of an illustrious *Genoese* Family.

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gan his Operations by detaching the Count of *Bergues* to seize upon a small Castle where the States had a Garrison, which, through the Treachery of a *Dutch* Commander, was delivered up without Difficulty.

The Prince of *Orange*, Captain-General of the States Forces, left the *Hague* immediately hereupon, in order to stop *Spinola's* Progress, who was already got over the *Rhine* near *Wesel*; and encamped within four Leagues of him in the Dutchy of *Cleves*: But *Spinola*, perfectly informed of the weak Condition of the Prince's Troops, which, moreover, suffered greatly by Sickness, hoping to get in the Rear of him, could he once be drawn in to march his Army towards *Juliers*, ordered *Bergues* to invest that Place; while the Prince, aware of the Stratagem, convinced him that he had not forgot the Art of War by lying twelve Years idle, and as their Forces bore no Proportion, kept unmoveably to his Camp, not without some Mortification from the Surrender of *Juliers*, to which he was not in a Capacity of giving Relief.

It was during these Transactions that the young *Julius*, Duke of *Brunswick*, whose military Exploits acquired him that great Reputation in the Beginning of the last Century, having obtained Leave to make an Effort in Favour of the King of *Bohemia*, quitted the Prince's Camp

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at the *Hetter*, in which he had the Command of a Troop of Horse, and went and levied a little Army, with which he ravaged *Westphalia*, and defeated the Imperialists in many Rencounters. This Prince succeeded so well in his Levies, through the Credit of his illustrious House, and the Fame of his Valour, in those Parts of *Germany*, that, having got together 10,000 Men, he was just upon the Point of joining Count *Mansfeld*, being advanced as far as *Frankfort*, when following too eagerly the Dictates of his Courage, he faced *Tilli* and *Gonzales*, who had united their Troops, and being briskly attacked by them, just as he was passing the *Main*, lost the best Part of his Army in the River, and did not reach *Mansfeld's* Camp but with the utmost Difficulty.

The Arms of *Spain* were not altogether so prosperous in the ensuing Campaign of 1622. *Henry Frederick*, younger Brother to the Prince of *Orange*, who, at the Age of Seventeen, had begun to distinguish himself at the famous Battle of *Newport*, opened it by an Excursion to the very Gates of *Brussels*, where the Archduchess * kept her Court, bringing a large Booty, and abundance of Prisoners with him to *Breda*; but Fortune had a Success of far greater Moment in reserve for the Prince of *Orange*, who compelled *Spinola* to raise the Siege of *Bergen-op-zoom*, which, had the latter not done, the Prince

* Archduke *Albert* was dead the Year before.

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Prince was determined to stand the Chance of a Battle. This was the second Relief which that important Fortrefs stood indebted for to the great *Maurice*; and was, in some Measure, owing to *Mansfeld's* forcing a Pass a few Days before, in order to join him, which cost the brave Duke of *Brunswick* one of his Arms.

The raising of this famous Siege, seemed to put a Period to the Prince of *Orange's* good Fortune: A Project he formed the Winter following, to surprise the Castle of *Antwerp*, was disconcerted by a violent Tempest, and the common Cause received another fatal Stroke, a few Months after, by a second Overthrow of the gallant Duke of *Brunswick* from the experienced *Tilli*. The rest of the Year 1623 passed without any memorable Action on either Side; and so little Appearance was there of any from the Infanta's slow Preparations, even in the Month of *May* 1624, that the Prince waited upon the King and Queen of *Bohemia* to his Palace of *Breda*, where, for eight Days together, he had the Honour to entertain their Majesties.

Here *Maurice* may be said to have taken his Farewel of *Breda*, which *Spinola* laid Siege to a short time after, and finding all his Endeavours fruitless, notwithstanding the desperate Attempts that were made to that Purpose, particularly by his *English* Auxiliaries, under the

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the celebrated * *Horatio Veere*, he took the Impossibility of rescuing a Place, of which he had so fortunately made himself Master in his youthful Days, so very much to Heart, that this Grief, added to an ill Habit of Body, took him off in his fifty-eighth Year, in the Beginning of 1625, but a little before the Surrender of *Breda*.

* Four *English* Regiments were actually in the States Service at this Time, under the Command of the Earls of *Oxford* and *Southampton*, a Lord *Willoughby*, and Colonel *Berkley*; besides which they had some *Scotch* ones, *Henderfon*, one of their Colonels, lost his Life upon this Occasion.



HENRY



HENRY FREDERICK

O F

N A S S A U,

Prince of Orange.

THE Principality of *Orange*, together with the rest of the Demesnes, appertaining to the House of *Nassau Dillemburg*, and the supreme Command of the Forces of the *United-Provinces*, being devolved upon Count *Henry Frederick*, by the Death of the illustrious *Maurice*, who left behind him no legitimate Issue : This Prince, aged then about forty Years (who had given those early Proofs of his Courage at the Battle of *Newport*, and raised himself gradually, by his Merit, to the Post of General of the Horse) finding himself at the Head of 26,000 Men, resolved upon a last Effort to relieve *Breda*, if possible, and to that End dispatched *Marquette*, a Lieutenant-General under him, with a strong Body of Horse, to intercept a great Convoy that was
on

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on its way to *Spinola's* Camp. *Marquette's* Detachment, composed of the Flower of the *Dutch* Cavalry, though successful in the first Attack, being unexpectedly charged by fresh Forces, whilst they were more intent upon the Baggage they had taken, than upon keeping their Ranks, fell into such an immediate Confusion, as would have been followed by a total Rout, had not their Commander moved off of the Ground with all possible Speed.

The Prince of *Orange*, after this Disappointment, having made several vain Attempts to draw the cautious *Spinola* to a Battle; and receiving Advices from the Town, that without a Relief they could not, for want of Provisions, hold out many Days, hazarded one desperate Attack upon their Trenches, in the only Part where he found them accessible (the Stress of which Action lay mostly upon *Horatio Veere*, and his *English*) but as it was throwing away such brave Troops to no Purpose, after a two Hours obstinate Fight, the Prince caused a Retreat to be sounded, and giving over all Hopes of forcing *Spinola* to raise the Siege, left *Breda* to capitulate for itself, after nine Months Resistance, and returned to his Camp at *Walwick*. The Garrison surrendered upon honourable Terms soon after; one of which was, Leave to carry out all the Prince's moveable Goods, as *Breda* was his own Personal Estate; and so proud were the *Spaniards* of this Conquest, notwithstanding

withstanding the Blood and Treasure it had cost them, that the *Infanta* came thither, in Person, and honoured the City, some Days, with her Presence.

A little Respite being necessary for both Armies, after the Fatigue of a Siege that had kept them in Play so long, and the States Troops diminishing daily moreover, by Sickness, the Prince of *Orange* sent them into Quarters of Refreshment, and proceeded (for the first Time, after his Accession to his new Honours) to the *Hague*; where his Reception, and Welcomes, were suitable to his exalted Merit, and Rank. It was soon after this that the Duke of *Buckingham*, and Earl of *Holland*; arrived there as Embassadors from *Charles I.* to conclude an Alliance between *England*, *Denmark*, and the *United Provinces*; and in the next Year, in 1626, *Amelia de * Solms*, his Princess (whom he had married soon after his Brother's Decease) was brought-to-Bed of a Son, her Highnesses First-born, to the inexpressible Joy of the *United Provinces*; which Son was christened *William*, by his † Sureties, in Remembrance of his immortal Grandfather.

Not-

* Daughter to *Albert*, Count of *Solms*, an illustrious House in *Germany*. This Princess came to the *Hague* along with the Queen of *Bohemia*, and as she was a Lady of an extraordinary Merit, Prince *Maurice* recommended her as a Wife to his Brother, upon his Death-Bed.

† The States General, and the Cities of *Leyden* and *Delft* were his Godfathers, and the Queen of *Bohemia* his God-mother.

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Notwithstanding that the Campaign was opened early this Year, yet nothing was transacted very memorable, more than Count * *Ernest* of *Nassau's* reducing *Oldensel*; but in the following one, the Prince of *Orange* (after having been first invested, at the *Hague*, with the Order of the *Garter*, sent him from King *Charles*, by the Hands of the Lord *Carleton*) went for the Camp, and having joined the States Army near *Emerick*, formed the Siege of *Groll*, a Place of great Importance, of which he soon made himself Master, not without extreme Hazard of his own Person, and the Loss of several brave Men, among the rest, the Vice-Admiral of *Holland*, *Maurice's* natural Son, who was shot dead close by the Prince's Side.

Nor had *Henry Frederick* a less narrow Escape, some Days after the Reduction of *Groll*, when a Cannon-ball took off the Leg of a Captain of a Sloop, who was giving him a Lift out of his Boat; the Prince being about to reconnoitre a Post on which the Enemy had planted a Battery.

The Year following passed away without any considerable Exploit, either from one Side or the other; but in 1629, the Prince, impatient of
G Action,

* *Ernest Casimir*, Count of *Nassau Diets*, born in 1573, that married *Sophia Hedwig* of *Brunswick*, Great Grand Father to the now Prince of *Orange*.

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Action, solicited an additional Levy of 12,000 Men, having in View the great and astonishing Enterprize of the Siege of *Bois-le-duc*, a Place that was the Key, in a manner, of *Utrecht*, and *Guelderland*, and from whence those Provinces were daily exposed to the Enemies Insults and Ravages. The Reasons he gave the States, for so seemingly an hazardous Project, were ; *First*, *Spain's* present Want of Money, from *Peter Heyn*, the *Dutch* Admiral's Success, who had taken their Plate-Fleet. *Secondly*, The Absence of *Spinola*, who had been recall'd into that Kingdom, and to whom no Successor of Weight was hitherto appointed. *Thirdly*, The Improbability of any Diversion to hurt them from the Emperor, then engaged in a War with *Denmark*. And, *Fourthly*, The Likelihood there was of a speedy Rupture between *France* and *Spain*, as *Lewis XIII* was actually on his March to raise the Siege of *Casal*, from which Rupture the *United Provinces* could not but receive very signal Advantages. The Prince, notwithstanding that his Arguments were strongly oppos'd (and, indeed, the Event proved him mistaken in all of them) carried his Point, obtained the Levies, took the Field, and invested a Town, not only almost inaccessible by its Situation, but Man'd likewise by a formidable Garrison, under a Commander of known Experience, that had baffled all his Brother's Attempts, and likely to be soon succoured by the Count of *Bergues*, a Captain little inferior

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inferior in Ability to *Spinola* himself. No Part of *Henry Frederick's* Life shewed him a more consummate Master, in the Art of War, than the carrying on, and going thro' with this laborious Siege, especially of a Town surrounded with Water on every Side: As *Bergues*, by way of Diversion, passing the *Iffel* at the Head of a great Army, and joined by *Montecuculi* with 16,000 fresh Troops, ravaged the whole Province of *Utrecht* at that Time, making himself Master of *Amersfort* (which struck Terror into the very Heart of *Holland*) steady, nevertheless, to his great Purpose, the Prince would not be drawn from *Bois-le-duc* by any Temptation of preventing a Damage, which he knew would be amply compensated by the Gain of a Place of that Consequence; nor did he stir from his Camp till he had compelled it to surrender; contenting himself with what Forces he could spare to prevent the Execution of *Bergues's* Designs, and with giving the States timely Notice, to the End they might provide, in the best Manner possible, for the Security of the Provinces, that the Danger more immediately threatened. This, indeed, he did effectually; and such was the Wisdom of his Dispositions, that the Troops he sent to oppose *Bergues*, and *Montecuculi*, took the strong Town of *Wesel* by Surprise, which obliged those Generals to abandon their new Conquests with the utmost Precipitation; and the News of this important Success, being no small Encouragement to those

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before *Bois-le-duc* (among which the *English* signalized themselves, as usual, in a most particular Manner) the Besieged, despairing of Succours, beat a Parley, and surrendered the Town. Such was the happy Conclusion of the never to be forgotten Siege of *Bois-le-duc*, carried by the Force of the States singly, and unassisted from any foreign Ally, in Sight of two such Powers, as those of *Spain* and the Empire, combined together to save a Place, in the taking of which, Dikes of an amazing Length were to be raised, Mountains of Sand to be levelled, Rivers diverted from their Course, and Works upon Works to be mastered; such seeming Impossibilities in short to be overcome, that the bare Attempt was looked upon as want of Prudence in the Prince, by his best Friends; and downright Madness and Temerity by his Enemies. Nor is it much to be wondered at, if the Prince's unexpected Success in an Enterprize of that vast Difficulty, brought so many Princes, and great Lords, to pay him their Compliments upon that Occasion (as particularly the King of *Bobemia*) who were all ranged about the Prince of *Orange* at the Time when the Garrison of *Bois-le-duc* marched out, which they did in extreme good Order, and with all those Marks of Honour that were due to Men who had defended themselves with all imaginable Gallantry, as the Prince acknowledged, by Word of Mouth, to the Governor, in the short Conversation they had together the
Day

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Day that the Place was evacuated. Among those Generals that chiefly contributed to the Operations of this glorious Campaign, Justice ought to be done, in particular, to the brave *Ernest Casimir* of *Nassau*, to whose Conduct the Defeat of *Bergues's* Projects was principally owing, *Ernest* carrying a watchful Eye upon his Motions, as also the Success of the Enterprize upon *Wesel*, which one may call a Prelude to the taking of *Bois-le-duc*.

Notwithstanding that, the Prince of *Orange's* great Designs in 1631 (when he passed over into *Flanders* by Sea, at the Head of a fine Army) were over-ruled by the States Deputies (not without some Reproaches, as if he had sacrificed the publick Interest to his private Ambition) and that he himself was, much against his Will, compelled, by the bad Weather, to sail for *Holland*, yet had he the Satisfaction, thro' his own Vigilance, to disappoint an Invasion which *Holland* was threatened with by Sea, and to find his Orders obeyed so effectually, that the Enemies whole Fleet was sunk, burnt, or taken, upon the Coast of *Zeeland*, for which signal Service, he received the publick Thanks of the States General in a most solemn Manner, and was met, moreover, on his Return to the *Hague*, by the whole Body of Burghers under Arms. This Triumph was not a little heightened by the News, shortly after received, of the great *Gustavus's* Progress in *Germany*, where having

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gained the important Victory of *Leipsick*, and passed the *Rhine*, and the *Leck*, that Monarch was carrying all before him, quite to the Banks of the *Danube*. This mighty Diversion of the Forces of the Empire, attacked at the same Time on the Side of the *Moselle*, determined the States, by the Prince of *Orange's* Advice, upon the Siege of *Mastricht*, the rather, as *Gonzales of Cordoua*, had been detached from those Parts to the Emperor's Assistance, with a great Body of *Spanish* Troops; in consequence to which Resolution, the Prince gave Rendezvous to his Army upon the *Mockerbeyde* near *Nimmeguen*, which he there found to consist of 4000 Horse, and 17,000 Foot, including *English*, *Scotch*, *French* and *Walloons*.

As the Prince's Plan was to reduce *Venlo* and *Ruremond*, which had been re-inforced by some *Italian* Companies, in his Way to *Mastricht*, while he made his Approaches in Person to the former, he sent his Cousin, the brave *Ernest Casimir*, to attack the latter. *Venlo* surrendered the third Day, after the Prince had broke Ground before it, as did likewise *Straeten*, another little Fortrefs in that Neighbourhood, which he had caused to be invested by a Detachment from the main Army; but *Ruremond*, tho' it soon followed the Example of the two above-mentioned Towns, cost Count *Ernest* his Life, who was killed by a Musket-ball, as he was reconnoitring the Works.

After

After the Conquest of these three Places, the Prince passed the *Meuse*, and invested *Mastricht*, the Garrison of which had been reinforced, a Day or two before, by 2500 Men from the main Army, under the Marquis of *Sainte Croix*, fortifying his Camp, at the same Time, in the strongest Manner, as not doubting but the Enemy would use their utmost Efforts to relieve a Place of that Importance, and which no less a Man than the Duke of *Parma* had been nine Months in reducing.

He had scarce finished these Dispositions, when News was brought, that *Gonzales* of *Cordoua*, having been countermanded by the Infanta, was marching back in all Haste towards *Namur*, in order to pass the *Meuse*, and join the Marquis of *Sainte Croix*, who was advanced as far as *Tirlemont*. The Prince, nothing daunted at this unexpected Alarm, carried on his Attacks, taking the utmost Care to prevent the Town's receiving any Succours; and informed, as he was on all Hands, that these united Forces (superior to his own, even tho' they had not had a *Mastricht* to employ them) were on full march to raise the Siege, he persisted immoveably in his Purpose, providing for the Security of his Lines with a Vigilance worthy so great a Commander, and inspiring new Courage into his Men, by that affable Cheerfulness that has always
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been the Characteristick of the *Nassaus*, and rendered them the Idols of the Soldiery.

Such was the Situation of Affairs in the Prince of *Orange's* Camp, when, upon the twelfth Day, from the Time of *Mastricht's* being invested, the *Spanish* Army came in Sight, and gave the Besiegers a Signal, by three Salvos of their whole Artillery, that they were arrived to their Relief. Here the Prince gave Proofs of that consummate Experience so many Campaigns had taught him, as well by possessing himself immediately of certain *Hauteurs* that commanded his Camp, as by fortifying them with little Redoubts, that had Communications with his Lines, along which he appeared, Day and Night, in Order of Battle; while the Troops in the Trenches pushed their Attacks on the other Hand, with incredible Vigour. Tho' the Posture of Defence he was in, perplexed *Sainte Croix* not a little, that General ventured, one Day, notwithstanding, to attempt the Passage of the *Meuse*, but met with so brisk a Repulse, that after losing several Barks, he was compelled to drop the Enterprize wholly.

An Army doubly employed, as the Prince's was, could not but advance slowly, notwithstanding the Gallantry of their Efforts, in the Reduction of *Mastricht*, the Garrison of which, buoyed up with the Hopes of a speedy Relief, behaved, on their Sides, with great Bravery,
disputing

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disputing the Ground Inch by Inch, and watching all Opportunities to annoy the Besiegers, either by Mines, or by Sallies, to the daily Diminution of their Numbers: This occasioned Skirmishes of great Warmth very frequently, one of which proved fatal to the Count of *Hanau*, a Youth of great Hopes, Nephew to the Prince of *Orange*, who was shot dead; as did another, a few Days after, to the Earl of *Oxford*, Lieutenant-Colonel to *Veere's*, to Colonel *Harwood*, an Officer that had served the States, with great Reputation, many Years, and to several more of the *English* Brigade, who bore the first Brunt of the Enemy's Fury.

The Counterscarp, the dear Purchase of so much Blood, being, at length, successfully stormed, one Night, in a grand Attack; and the Difficulties of getting to the Walls, over a Ditch fifty Foot deep, as happily surmounted, the Enemy were forced from all their Out-works, much about the Time that News came of the famous Count *Pappenheim's* Arrival at *Dusseldorp*, with a Body of near 20,000 Imperialists, on his Way to join the Marquis of *Sainte Croix*, who continued in his old Quarters, not daring to hazard a second Stroke. In the mean while, a great Party of Horse, sent before by *Pappenheim*, endeavoured to pass the *Meuse*, under the Command of Don *Andrea Cantelmo*, a Major-General; but the Prince's Out-guards giving the Alarm, their Project was

was vigorously opposed, and the whole Detachment pushed back into the River.

The Relief of *Mastricht* having been twice, in this manner, unsuccessfully attempted, the Enemy had Recourse to another Expedient, which was, by prevailing upon the Duke of *Neubourg*, of the *Palatine* Family (with whom the Prince had an Intimacy of long standing) to make him a Visit in his Quarters; and use Dissuasives from continuing the Siege.

The Arguments the Duke employed, were chiefly deduced from *Pappenheim's* certain Approach, his great Abilities, and the Strength of his Troops; but were answered in such a Manner, that, finding his Rhetorick ineffectual, he took his Leave of the Prince, who redoubled his Attacks upon *Mastricht*; and the Day following, pursuant to what the Duke had foretold, *Pappenheim*, appeared in good earnest; upon which, the Prince, unable to defend the Passes of the *Meuse* any longer, ordered back all his advanced Guards, while the two united Armies blocked him up in his own Camp; and the Eyes of *Europe* were attentive to the Event of a Siege, in which two opposite Generals, of that consummate Experience, were watching all Advantages to out-scheme each other, and give their Reputation the finishing Stroke.

Two such united Forces as the Imperial and *Spanish*, having now a free Communication, could not lie many Days without attempting to relieve *Mastricht*; and accordingly *Pappenheim*, having made his Onset upon one Quarter of the Prince's Lines, where the Resistance was long and obstinate, *Sainte Croix* fell upon another Part of them, a few Hours after Sunset, the same Evening; but through the Prince's invincible Vigilance, and the Bravery of his Troops together, neither Enterprize succeeding, the Enemy retreated; and there were found, at the several Attacks, at break of Day, very near 2000 of their killed or wounded, besides Horses in great Number.

Pappenheim, quite discouraged by this Defeat and Loss, reinforcing his Army with some of *Sainte Croix's* Troops, who still kept in his old Situation, went and posted himself between *Leige* and *Mastricht*, to cut off all Supplies of Provision to the Besiegers, from that plentiful Country; but he was again disappointed in his Hopes of effecting his Design this Way, for the Prince, fore-armed against Surprizes of any Kind, had already taken Care to store his Camp with all Necessaries for two Months; his Galleries being now carried on under the very Ramparts, he disposed Matters for an Assault; and having, in the Night-time, caused a Mine to be sprung, made a Lodgment, not
without

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without great Loss and Difficulty ; the besieged behaving like Lyons upon this Occasion, as, indeed, they were all picked and chosen Troops, under Baron *de Lede* (Ancestor to the late famous Marquis of that Name) a *Walloon* Officer, every Way worthy a Command of that Importance.

Early the next Morning, the besieged, finding a Point of that Consequence carried against them, and apprehensive, besides, of a Design to spring the rest of the Mines, in order to a general Assault, took the Advantage of a short Cessation of Arms for burying the Dead (who were very numerous on both Sides) and proposed the Exchange of Hostages, by Way of preliminary to a Capitulation, that was signed and ratified very soon after. By Virtue of this Agreement, much the same with that which *Venlo* and *Ruremonde* had been surrendered upon, the Town was delivered up two Days after ; the Garrison marching out with the usual Marks of Honour ; and after Compliments, reciprocally passed between the Prince and the Baron, these last were conducted, under an Escorte, to the Camp of the Marquis of *Sainte Croix*, who had the Shame and Mortification to stand Eye-witness, at the Head of such a Force, to the taking of a Town, that was the Key of *Brabant*, on the *Meuse* Side, and the greatest Check possible upon *Spain* and the Infanta.

The

The Surrender of *Mastricht* was followed by an immediate Decampment of the *Spanish* and Imperial Armies, which separated, for good and all, at *Urmont* upon the *Meuse*; *Pappenheim* taking the Route of the *Rhine*, and *Sainte Croix* that of *Namur* and *Tirlemont*. While the Prince was yet taken up in repairing the Breaches, and levelling the Lines, the Duke of *Arscot*, a Lord of great Power in the *Netherlands*, signified to him his Intention, provided his Highness would grant him the necessary Passports, of coming to make him certain Proposals, which, he flattered himself; would be thought reasonable, on the Part of the *Infanta*, and the States of the Provinces under her Command. This Request of the Duke's being imparted to the States of the Union, by the Prince, and complied with easily enough, the Prince sent him his Passports, assuring him of a Reception suitable to his own high Birth, and the exalted Rank of the Person deputing him; but, at the same Time, as Peace is always best negotiated Sword in Hand, he ordered a Detachment to invest *Limburg*, and some other Places of less Consequence, all which made but a very short Resistance; and received a considerable Reinforcement, soon after, from certain new Levies of Horse and Foot, mostly under the Command of Count *Henry de Bergues*, whom we have seen, heretofore, acting vigorously in Behalf of *Spain*, the

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Service of which he had lately quitted, upon certain Disgusts, and was consequently proscribed.

It was not long before the Duke of *Arscot*, accompanied by the Archbishop of *Malines*, the Abbé *de St. Vast*, and several other Persons of Distinction, arriving at the Camp from *Brussels*, upon the above-mention'd Deputation, were conducted into *Mastricht* by the Prince of *Orange* in Person, where, after the first Ceremonies, it was proposed on the Part of the said Deputies, in Case they could not conclude a Peace, at least to agree upon a Truce for a long Term of Years, upon Conditions in which the States-General would find their Account. The Answer returned to this Motion was, That as the Prince had not been authorized to proceed of himself in so weighty an Affair; the most that he could do, was to lay the Proposals before the States, and there to make known to the Deputies, the Resolution of their High-Mightinesses. When the States came to deliberate upon this Matter, it was the Opinion of the Majority, that the *Hague*, and not *Mastricht*, was the proper Place for the Conferences with the Deputies, who readily accepted the Proposal of a Journey thither, as suiting their Views infinitely better; some People, indeed, reasoned differently, and thought with the Prince himself, that no Place had been so proper for those Conferences as *Mastricht*, where the Deputies having constantly before
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their Eyes, a Body of victorious Troops, were more likely to give up many Points, which they might not be induced to do with the same Facility, where there was not an Army in Sight to make the same powerful Impression.

Winter now approaching, and the Prince thinking it expedient, for many Reasons, but chiefly upon the Account of of a Sickness that began to rage in the Camp, to dismiss the over-fatigued Men into Quarters, after he had provided in the best Manner possible for the Security of the Town, repassed the *Meuse*, in the Beginning of *November*, upon a Bridge of Boats; complying at the same Time with the Duke of *Arscot's* Desire of seeing the Troops march off, which consisted of about 12,000 effective Men, exclusive of the Sick and Wounded, and what were disposed of in the respective Towns, reduced by his Highness in that glorious Campaign of 1632.

The Prince was met and saluted upon his March, with Demonstrations of the highest Esteem, by the Elector of *Cologne*, accompanied by all his Court; a Civility which Self-preservation was in all Likelihood a leading Motive to, inasmuch as the Elector had connived at *Pappenheim's* Passage thro' his Territories, which was excused by him, in the best Manner possible, to the Prince, not without some Expostulations upon that Head from his High-

Highness. They took Leave of each other, after a short Interview, during which it is remark-worthy, that the Elector insisted upon giving the Prince the *Pas*, as well in his own Coach, and on all other Occasions; and scarce were they separated, when the Prince received the News of the Surrender of *Orsoy* to the Detachment he had sent to invest it: Being arrived four Days after at *Nimeguen*, he dismissed his Forces, pursuing his Journey for the *Hague*, where his Welcome was suitable to the Services the Publick had received at his Hands. It was much about this Time, that the universal Joy received some Allay from the Loss of that great Friend to the Protestant Cause, *Gustavus Adolphus*, who was unhappily killed at the famous Battle of *Lutzen*, tho' his Troops got the Victory.

The rest of this memorable Year was spent in Conferences between the States-General, and the Deputies of the Infanta, which held off and on, without any thing agreed to, till the Spring following; when the Prince of *Orange*, who had made all the necessary Dispositions for opening the Campaign, with the Approbation of the States-General, could not by any Means be prevailed upon to delay the putting of them in Execution, either by the Deputies from *Brussels*, or such of the *Hollanders* themselves as had their private Views in the Conclusion of the War.

His

His first Enterprize, this Year, was the Attack of *Rbinberg*, the only remaining Place yet in the Hands of the *Spaniards* upon the *Rbine*, I mean with Regard to the military Power, for the Civil Jurisdiction was vested in the Elector of *Cologn*, who had likewise all the Duties and Revenues. *Rbinberg*, tho' strongly garisoned, capitulated in three Weeks; and in the mean Time, as he heard that the Marquis of *Aytona*, appointed to command the *Spanish* Army in the Room of the Marquis of *Sainte Croix*, was marching towards the *Meuse*, in order to raise the Siege of *Rbinberg*, he detached a strong Body of Troops, together with some Artillery, to stop the Execution of his Designs: *Aytona* seized, on the other Hand, some advantageous Posts, and kept dodging the rest of the Campaign, with the Prince of *Orange*, who used all his Endeavours, but in vain, to draw him to a Field Engagement.

The Prince found the Duke of *Arscot*, and the other Deputies, still at the *Hague*, on his Return thither, after he had sent his Troops into Quarters; and from them it was that his Highness and the States learnt, in a few Days after, the Death of the Infanta Archduchess, a Loss regretted even by the *Dutch*, whom she had been so long in War with, upon the Account of those many Virtues, and excellent Qualities, of which she had given continual Proofs, during

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ing a more than forty Years Residence in the *Low-Countries*, thirty of which she reigned jointly with her Husband *Albert*, by whom she left no Issue. As the long Stay of those Plenipotentiaries could not but give great Uneasiness to all true Lovers of their Country, who must be sensible of underhand Intrigues of a dangerous Consequence, carried on by them; so it was proposed to desire them to withdraw, especially as their Negotiations availed very little; and it being notorious that they only sought to protract the Time, and sow the Seeds of Faction and Discontent. This Motion, tho' strenuously opposed by some who were secretly in the *Spanish* Interest, was, nevertheless, carried by a great Majority, and the States, thereupon, signifying to those Lords, the Concern they were under at the Impossibility of coming to any Conclusion with *Spain*, they were provided with necessary Passports, and a suitable Escorte, and made the best of their Way back to *Brussels*.

Early in the Summer, of the following Year 1634, the Marquis of *Aytona* having taken the Field, and seeming to threaten an Irruption towards *Guelderland*, the Prince assembled his Army near *Nimeguen*, to have an Eye to his Motions; when, upon a sudden, the Marquis faced about directly towards *Mastricht*, where he blocked up all the Avenues on both Sides the *Meuse*, cutting off the Town's Communication

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tion with a great Part of the adjacent Country, and threw a Bridge over the River, making a Shew of attacking that Place, in which the young Duke of *Bouillon*, Nephew to the Prince of *Orange*, commanded, with ten Troops of Horse, and forty Companies of Foot. While this occasioned several smart Skirmishes, with considerable Loss on either Side, the Prince, not a little alarmed at the Measures taken by the Marquis, judging a direct March towards the Enemy, in the weak Condition he had found his Army in, too hazardous an Attempt, steered his Course directly to *Breda*, marking out a Camp, as if he meant to invest it in good Earnest, to see what Effect such a Stratagem would produce. *Aylona*, upon Advice of this unexpected Countermarch, left *Mastricht* in all Haste, and advanced towards the Prince, which was all his Highness wanted, being in no Condition of giving the Marquis Battle; and having, by this Means, got between him and the Town, that occasioned his Fear, as he saw the disappointed *Spaniard*, soon after, canton his Troops, he did the same on his Side, quartering his Horse along the *Meuse*, and his Infantry in the Villages round about *Buren* (a patrimonial Seat of his own, which he chose for his head Quarters) in such a Manner, that he could assemble them at twelve Hours Warning. Such was the Disposition of both Armies all the remainder of the Campaign, which passed without any farther Action than what has

been related. The Winter following, the Cardinal Infant, Brother to the King of *Spain*, sent to succeed the deceased Archdutchess, arrived on the Frontiers of the *Netherlands*, flushed with the Victory of *Nortlinguen*, in which the Duke of *Weymar* had been defeated; and he had personally assisted the King of the *Romans*, his Cousin, at the Head of 15,000 *Italians* and *Spaniards*, that had followed him out of the *Milaneze*: *Aytona* went to receive his Royal Highness, and conducted him to *Stevenswaart*, from whence the Infant pursued his Journey to *Brussels*, under an Escorte of the whole Body of *Spanish* Horse, commanded by Count *John of Nassau*. This Count, near Kinsman to *Henry Frederick*, many Years before had quitted the Service of the States General in Disgust, or rather, as some will have it, from a Motive of Passion for a Lady of the Infanta's Court.

The Year 1635 opened very gloriously for the States of the United Provinces, with an offensive and defensive Alliance, then for the first Time concluded, between the Crown of *France* and them, in Opposition to *Spain*, and all the Dominions depending on that Monarchy. Cardinal *Richelieu*, and the Duke of *Bouillon*, were the principal Agents in this grand Affair on the Part of *Lewis XIII*; and M. *Pauw* and *Knuit*, two very able Counsellors, on that of the States. The principal Conditions were, That neither the King, nor the States,

should

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should negotiate a Peace, or a Truce, with the Power in Question, without a mutual Consent: That the former should remain possessed of all the Conquests that might be made in *Hainault*, *Artois*, *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, and in *Flanders*; the Towns and Districts of *Damme* and *Hulst*, and Country of *Waas*, excepted; which, together with as much as might fall into their Hands, of the *Spanish Brabant* and *Guelderland*, should be abandoned to the latter: And that, in order to carry on the said Hostilities, each Power should raise an Army of 25,000 Foot, and 5000 Horse, all under the sole Direction of the Prince of *Orange*, Captain General of the State's Forces, whenever they should happen to unite; who had conferred upon him, for that Purpose, by the King, with Consent of the States, the Commission of Lieutenant of all his Forces, with an Authority superior to his Marshals *Chatillon* and *Brezé*.

The *French* Army, pursuant to this Treaty, advanced into the Neighbourhood of *Liege*, in order to a Junction with their new Allies, the States General, who took the Field, as usual, pretty late, the common Case of Republican Armies, that must depend upon the tardy Resolutions of Civil Assemblies, clashing very often in Opinion or Interest. The Prince of *Orange* got them together, however, at last, in the Neighbourhood of *Nimeguen*, with much ado; and there he received the News of Prince

Thomas of Savoy's Defeat, who, having been dispatched, by the Cardinal Infant, with a Body of Troops towards *Namur*, to put a Stop to the Progress of the *French*, as these had already crossed the *Ardennes*, was attacked, tho' in an advantageous Post, with that Vigour, that he lost the Field, Baggage, Artillery, and Ammunition, together with abundance of Officers and Soldiers, either killed or taken; in which last Number, were reckoned not less than three Generals. This Battle, fought at *Avesnes*, hastened the Prince's March, with about 20,000 Men, all he could assemble in so short a Time; and having drawn away Troops from such Places as could best spare them, to reinforce others that lay more exposed, he arrived, in five Days, within half a League of *Mastricht*, where he received a Visit, immediately, from the two abovementioned Marshals, attended by the principal Officers of their Troops; and, after mutual Ceremonies, a Conference was held, at *Mastricht*, upon the Measures they were to take, in order to follow the Victory they had obtained. Before they parted, the two Marshals would needs pay his Highness the Compliment of receiving Orders from him, in Deference to the Commission conferred upon him by their Master; which Civility was pressed upon him to that Degree, that he accepted it, at last, with Reluctancy, but made Use of the Power with a Moderation becoming so great a Man,

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a Man, undertaking no one Thing without previously consulting the Marshals.

The two united Armies, now about 40,000 strong, and extremely well furnished with Ammunition, Artillery, and Necessaries of all Sorts, directed their Motions towards *Tirlemont*, where the Cardinal Infant, strongly entrenched, was making a Shew of disputing to them the Passage of the River *Gbeete*; but as he thought fit, upon the Approach of such a Force, to retire and encamp near *Louvain*, to secure the Passes of the *Dyle*, the Prince summoned *Tirlemont*, where there was but a small Garrison, to surrender. *Arcos*, a *Spaniard*, who commanded in the Place, would not listen to any Terms, and stood it out with that Resolution, against so great an Army, that the Prince, after a reiterated Summons, was forced to take it by Storm, which he would fain have prevented; and notwithstanding his extreme Care to hinder Disorders, when he had taken it, in the Night Time the Walls were scaled by a mixed disorderly Multitude, and *Tirlemont* burnt, ravaged and plundered, Church and all: A Body of Horse, indeed, were immediately dispatched to put a Stop to this Confusion; but they came too late, and found the Town an Heap of Ashes, and the poor remaining Inhabitants in the utmost Distress.

From *Tirlemont* the Prince and the Marshals took the Route of *Louvain*, within a League of which they encamped, as well to observe the Motions of the Cardinal Infant, as to examine in what Part the *Dyle* was fordable, the Passes of which seemed not ill guarded on the opposite Side : The Report of a Possibility of marching the Troops over, was no sooner made, but the Prince, having sent a Detachment of Horse before, which seized a Post, and going to the Spot in Person to reconnoitre the River perfectly, ordered young *Henry Casimir*, Count of *Nassau* (Son to the late Count *Ernest*, and Heir to his Valour, as well as Estates) to cross immediately with the Rear of the Army, which lay nearest that Pass, commanding Pontoons to be laid over it, for the rest of the Forces to follow without Delay.

In the mean Time, while the Prince's Orders were executing, the Enemy appeared upon a rising Ground, marching in Battle Array, to dispute the Passage of the *Dyle* ; but as they had a Wood on their Flank, a small Body of Horse, detached from the main Army to keep them in Play, stopped their March so effectually, without coming to Blows, that the whole Body had Time to pass the Pontoons ; the several Nations that composed it, whether *English*, *Scotch*, *French*, *Germans*, or *Dutch*, expressing the greatest Eagerness imaginable to engage

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engage the Enemy ; and taking the Prince by the Hand, many of them, as he stood to see them file off, begged he would find them Work, and that he might be assured of their doing their Duty.

The Cardinal Infant, disappointed in his Endeavours to hinder this Passage of the Troops, withdrew further off *Louvain* and *Brussels*, which the Prince sought in vain to prevent ; and apprehending the Design of the Confederates to be upon the last of these Towns, as in reality it was, went thither with all Speed, leaving *Louvain* reinforced, and dispatching *de Lede* with 1500 Men to *Malines*. All the Horse of the Confederates, under Marshal *Brezé*, pursued his Royal Highness so close, that he got the Start of them but a few Hours, and came within Cannon-shot of the Town, where they found it not adviseable to make a long Stay.

Now did the Prince of *Orange* experience how much a Shaddow of Power his *French* Commission really was, and began to foresee, as it proved in the Event, the Inconveniencies of their Alliance with that Crown ; for while he was fixed in the Scheme of drawing the *Spaniards* (then encamped between *Brussels* and *Vilvoorde*) to an Engagement, if possible, where the Likelihood of a compleat Overthrow was great, he found himself thwarted by the *French* Generals, who declared one and all for the

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the Siege of *Louvain*, because of the pretended Improbability of subsisting their Troops, if they pursued the Prince's Design.

Louvain was invested accordingly ; and the Approaches carried on with great Success, notwithstanding a Sally from the Town, in which the *English*, who happened to have the Post they fell upon, were considerable Sufferers. But here again the *French* gave Proofs of their Instability ; for when every thing was in Readiness for a general Assault, the Prince was made acquainted by the Marshals, and M. de la Meilleraye, General of the Artillery, that the Sickness in their Camp, and Want of Provisions together, obliged them to abandon the Siege. No Remonstrance, proper on such an Occasion, was wanting on his Highness's Part to dissuade them from such reproachful Measures, at a Time when the Success of the Enterprize (their own pure Motion at first) was in such a Likelihood of Success ; the Prince adding withal, that the last of these Objections should be instantly removed by the Care he would take to furnish them with Bread : But as their Opiniatreté in this Point was invincible, the Prince was obliged to comply, not having a sufficient Force of his own to carry on such a Siege ; and they broke up the next Day, repassing the *Dyle*, and taking separate Routes for some Time, in order to subsist with less Difficulty.

The

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The Cardinal Infant taking Heart again, as well from the Siege of *Louvain* being raised, as from *Picolomini's* joining him with a Body of 15,000 fresh Men out of *Germany*, was soon at the Rear of the Confederates, where some slight Skirmishes happened; and, at the same Time, while the latter were deliberating upon their further Operations, sent a Detachment to surprise the important Fortrefs of *Schenk*, which was taken by Storm, and the Garrison put to the Sword. The Loss of this Place, the Key of *Holland*, in a Manner, affected the Prince with a most sensible Concern, and being justly apprehensive for *Nimeguen* and the *Betuwe* *, should the Infant, who was already advanced as far as *Stevenfwaert*, pursue his good Fortune, desired the two Marshals to come and confer with him immediately, and having then represented to them the vast Consequence of that Fort, and declared his own Resolution of marching with Part of the States Troops that very Night, in order to hinder the Enemies Progress, he earnestly besought them to follow with the *French* Army, as they promised they would, and broke up from *Ruremond*, where he was, about Midnight, using such Expedition, that he arrived next Day, before Sun-set, at *Nimeguen*, and sent Detachments to seize the *Tolbuys*, and other advantageous Posts, by way of Prevention. The whole Body of the Army being arrived;
and

* The Country between the *Rhine* and *Vahel*.

and a Council of War held upon the Situation of Affairs, it was resolved, that the *French*, whose Infantry was mightily diminished by Sickness, should be cantoned in Villages along the *Rhine*, towards *Emerick*, while the Troops of the States quartered in and about the *Betuwe*, in such a Manner, that the Fort, surrounded on all Sides, could not, in all likelihood, but quickly fall into their Hands again.

The Cardinal Infant, in the mean while, at the Head of his *Spaniards* and Imperialists, surprised *Goch*, a Town of the Dutchy of *Cleves*, in direct Violation of the Neutrality agreed upon with that State, leaving a strong Garrison there, and detached 5000 choice Men, under Don *Andrea Cantelmo*, to throw Succours, if possible, into Fort *Schenk*, within Cannon-shot of which, they seized an important Post. The Infant himself took up his Quarters near at Hand, in the above-mentioned Dutchy, where *Aytana*, Commander in Chief under his Highness, was carried off in a few Days by a Distemper that raged among the Troops, as was also, not long after him, the Duke of *Lerma*.

The Prince, on the other Hand, was carrying on his Works against *Schenk* with his usual Diligence, Skirmishes passing daily between his Men and the Garrison; but as the Season was far advanced, and the Enemy, daily weakened by Sickness, had already decamped, after having

ving garrisoned *Cleves*, and other Places, he dismissed his own Troops into Quarters, leaving Count *William* of *Nassau-Siegen* to block up *Scenk*, and build Bridges over the *Vahal* and *Rhine*, in order to continue his Lines, and cut off all Communication between *Cleves* and the Fort; the Count executed his Orders so punctually, that, notwithstanding an Attempt made by *Piccolomini* and Count *John* of *Nassau*, to throw Succours into the Place, and a Pestilential Disease his own Troops were infected with, he became Master of it in *April* following.

Much about this Time the *French*, whose Army was exceeding weak, were recalled into their own Country, having been of little Service to the common Cause since their Victory at *Avesnes*: Partial Authors, indeed, have not stuck unjustly to cast a Blemish upon the Prince of *Orange's* Conduct, with Regard to the Forces of that Crown, as if he had designedly starved, and disposed them in Quarters where Sickness was inevitable; whereas, had they followed his Council, they might have been Masters of *Louvain*, *Brussels*, and all that rich Country of *Brabant*. That the Prince was no Friend to Cardinal *Richelieu*, indeed, who had endeavoured, fraudulently, to dispossess him of *Orange* some Years before, is a Fact not to be disputed; nor is it unlikely but he might, for that Reason, look upon those Troops with a less favourable Eye, the good Faith of *Richelieu* being

ing problematical at best, and not much to be relied upon.

The Cardinal Infant, to compensate the Loss of *Schenk*, and revenge himself, in some measure, of the Share the *French* had had in the Operations of the preceeding Campaign, invaded the Frontiers of *Picardy*, passed the *Somme* in Sight of the brave Count *Soissons* *, posted there in vain to oppose him, and took the Town of *Corbie*, which the *French* recovered again in less than a Month's Time : But as the Prince of *Orange* had taken the Field, late as it was in the Year, at the Instances of the *French* Embassador, his Royal Highness, alarmed at this Diversion, thought fit to detach Part of his Army towards *Antwerp*, which proved no small Service to *France* ; and in the following Spring, the Prospect of besieging *Dunkirk* was prevented by a Storm, which greatly endangered the Troops embarked for that Expedition.

Breda was now unexpectedly invested to the great Amazement and Consternation of the *Spaniards*. The Troops gave upon this Occasion a remarkable Proof of their Zeal for the Prince of *Orange* ; for they no sooner came within Sight of the Town, but they expressed by an universal Shout, their Eagerness to restore a Possession

* A Prince of the Blood, youngest of the Branch of *Bourbon Condé*.

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to him, which, as we have said before, was Part of his Patrimonial Estate. This Mark of unanimous Affection, from a Body composed of so many different Nations (for there were then in the States Pay twelve or thirteen, *English*, *Scotch*, and *French* Regiments alone, exclusive of *Germans*, *Dutch*, and others) as it was an Omen of good Success, could not, at the same Time, but give that Prince a sensible Pleasure, the rather, as there was not a Soldier in his Army whom he did not look upon with a kind of Fatherly Tendernefs.

The Circumvallation was scarce perfected, when the Cardinal Infant sat out with all Diligence for *Antwerp*, attended by his whole Army, passed the *Scheld*, and advanced within a little League of Count *Henry's* Attack, the Prince himself remaining indefatigably upon his Guard, drawn out for several Days and Nights in order of Battle, while the Works were carried on against the Town, with that Vigour that had been used in all the Sieges under his Highness's Direction. From this excellent Disposition on the Prince's Side, the Attempt of giving him Battle appearing too hazardous, the Infant, after three Weeks Encampment in Sight of him, thought it expedient to quit the Ground, making a Shew in his Retreat of enterprising upon *Heusden*, and some other Places, for the Security of which, the Prince provided effectually, by sending General *Stackenbrouck*,
with

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with all the Troops he could spare, to reinforce the Towns, where the Storm was most likely to fall. The Infant, however, who seemed to be taking the Route of *Guelderland*, deceived *Stackenbrouck's* Vigilance by a sudden Countermarch, and passing the *Meuse* at *Genap*, instead of proceeding towards *Rbynberg*, as to all Appearance he designed, took to the Right unexpectedly, and profiting by the Consternation they were in at *Venlo* and *Ruremond*, made himself Master of those important Places by Capitulation, not without a strong Suspicion of some treacherous Practices from the Garrisons themselves; the Commanders of which (one of them a Bastard of the noble House of *Brederode*) prevented by Flight the Execution of the Sentence passed upon them by a Council of War.

The tenth Day from the opening of the Trenches before *Breda*, the *English* and *French*, notwithstanding a brave Resistance from within, made the first Lodgment upon the covered Way; but the *French* Embassador *Cbarnassé* was killed at the same Time by a Musket-ball, in the Trenches, doing Duty actually as Colonel of a Regiment of that Nation. A very large and deep Fossé having been filled shortly after, tho' with the Loss of abundance of Soldiers, every Thing was in Readiness for an Assault, when the Garrison capitulated, People thronging from all the Provinces round, to see a Town of that Consequence surrendered, which had now
been

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been twelve Years in the Hands of the *Spaniards*. They marched out to the Number of 2500, besides Sick and Wounded, the Prince allowing them an Escorte as far as *Malines*, and what had not been often seen, the Ecclesiasticks carried their Crosses along with them. Affairs that regarded the Church were put upon the Footing of the Year 1625, when the States lost the Place. Such was the Conclusion of the Siege of *Breda*, esteemed justly one of the strongest Cities in *Europe*, as having been fortified by no less an Engineer than Prince *Maurice* himself, plentifully victualed, garrisoned by 4000 Soldiers, and the Relief of it attempted by the Cardinal Infant himself, at the Head of the united Forces of *Spain* and the Empire, after no more than eleven Weeks open Trenches; and thus ended the glorious Campaign of 1637, on the Side of the States, while the *French* sent their Troops into Quarters; on the other Hand, having made no other Conquest than that of *Landrecies*, and the *Spaniards* sat them down contented with *Venlo* and *Ruremonde*.

The States-General, and their Allies the *French*, having spent the Winter in deliberating upon what should be attempted in the Spring; *May* was already far advanced before the Armies on either Side took the Field. The Cardinal Infant, on his Part, apprehending for *Dunkirk* or *Cambray*, sent Prince *Thomas* of *Savoy*, and Count *John* of *Nassau*, to lie upon
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the Watch between those important Places, whilst he himself, with the Count of *Fuentes*, and the Marquisses of *Sfondrato* and *Lede*, kept hovering about *Brabant*, and the Countries bordering on the *Meuse*, to be ready at Hand as Occasion should require.

The Marshal of *Cbatillon* began the Operations on his Side, by marching towards *St. Omer*, but not soon enough to prevent Succours being thrown into the Place by Prince *Thomas*; and having battered it, unsuccessfully, for six Weeks, notwithstanding that the Marshal *de la Force* had joined him, was compelled to give over the Enterprize upon *Picolomini's* Arrival in Prince *Thomas's* Camp; infomuch, that *Lewis XIII* thinking his personal Presence necessary to keep the Troops in Heart, took the Route of the Frontiers, accompanied by the Cardinal; whom, after he had visited the Camp, he left behind at *Amiens*, and returned to *St. Germain*, the Queen being then near the Time of her Delivery.

The Prince of *Orange*, on the other Hand, who had the Siege of *Antwerp* in View, embarked his Army for the Mouth of the *Scheld*, committing the Care of the Passes of the *Rhine* and *Vahat* to Count *Henry of Nassau*, and sent Count *William* before, who set Sail from *Voorn* the next Day, and landed in a very marshy, overflowed Soil near *Doël*, on the *Flanders* Side of the River,

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River, from whence, for a League together, as far as the Dyke of *Calloo*, Count *William's* Detachment marched with extreme Difficulty in Mud up to their very Necks, and must have been inevitably cut off, their Firelocks being all out of Order, had the Enemy been at Hand to attack them in that distressed Situation. This was owing to the Misinformation of the Officer sent before to reconnoitre the Landing-place.

The Fort of *Calloo*, upon the first Approach of the Detachment, being abandoned by the Garrison, the Count thought it advisable to entrench himself there, before he ventured farther in the Territory of *Waas*, which might probably be filled, as he falsely imagined, with the Enemy's Troops, and in this Posture continued many Days, till at last he was attacked in three several Places by the Marquis *de Lede*, but defended himself with a Gallantry that compelled the Marquis to retreat with considerable Loss; upon which the Prince of *Orange*, then at *Burgues*, ordered him a Reinforcement of twenty seven Companies; extremely well satisfied with the Prudence of his Measures, and the Bravery of his Defence. The Prince in Person was preparing to re-embark at *Bergues*, in order to make a powerful Diversion in Count *William's* Favour, when, to his great Surprise and Concern, he received the dismal Tydings of the total Defeat of that Detachment, which, notwithstanding the Count's Excuses, was found

to be purely the Effect of his Stay at *Calloo*, where his Men were cramped up for want of Room, in direct Disobedience to the Prince's Command. He ought, instead of this, to have pursued his March towards *Antwerp*, where the main Army was to have joined him, his Force being little inferior to that of *Picolomini's*, from whom the Blow was received. The whole Project upon *Antwerp* and *Flanders* being thus disconcerted, the Prince caused the Troops and Artillery to be landed once more, and continued at *Bergben* some time longer, undetermined upon the Measures he should pursue.

The above-mentioned Loss was a little alleviated by a brave Repulse the Marquis *Sfondrato* met with, in an Attack upon the Prince's Camp; and now, as the *French* renewed their Promises of a powerful Diversion on the Side of the *Artois*, in case the State Troops made some Effort on their Part; the Prince sent Orders to Count *Henry*, to put himself in Motion, and marched with about 9000 Men he had with him, towards the *Meuse*. This was resolved upon, in the View of besieging *Guelldres* (a Place from whence the Borders of the *Rhine* and *Meuse* suffered frequent Incurfions) should the Enemy move towards *France*, or, in case he followed the Prince, to give the *French* an Opportunity of advancing into *Brabant*. The Prince, arriving at *Bois-le-duc*, paid his Compliments to the

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the Queen * Mother of *France*, who was then on her way to *Spaw*, under Pretence of her Health, but in Reality, a Fugitive from the Persecution of her grand Enemy the Cardinal : It was much about this Time that the Allies received the important News of the Duke of *Weymar's* Victory over the Imperialists near *Brisac*, the Trophies of which, consisting of eighty odd Colours and Standards (besides all their Ordnance, Waggon and Camp) were sent to the King of *France* by the said Duke, who was in the actual Pay of that Crown.

The Enterprize upon *Gueldres*, in which the Prince began to foresee extreme Difficulties, from Reasons that were not so evident at first, being carried in Opposition to his Highness's Sentiment by the Deputies of the States, he ordered the two Counts, *Henry of Nassau*, and *Solms*, to join him with all Expedition ; but his Instructions being ill executed by the Officer commanding the Train, and the Carriages entangled in the Mud ; the Retardment occasioned by this Accident, in Count *Henry's* March, gave the *Spaniards* an Opportunity to fall on his Rear, where a sharp Action ensued, with no small Loss to the Count, besides Don *Emanuel of Portugal*, Brother-in-Law to the Prince of *Orange*, taken Prisoner.

* *Mary of Medici*, Widow to *Henry IV.*

The whole Forces of the States being now united in one Camp, the Cardinal Infant came and quartered himself within Cannon-shot, in which Situation the two Armies continued about a Week ; after which, the Prince, who had given sufficient Proofs of his Readiness to receive them, gave over the Design on *Gueláres*, and marched, for the Conveniency of his over-fatigued and sick Troops, towards *Rbynberg*, sending Quarter-Master-General *Percival*, an *Englishman*, with all the Pioneers before him, to facilitate the Way to a Mountain near that Town, on which he proposed to encamp his Army. It was soon after this, that the News of the Birth of a Dauphin * of *France* having reached the Camp, where extraordinary Rejoicings were made upon that Score, the Prince of *Orange* dispatched his Cousin *Henry*, with Compliments of Congratulation to the King.

The rest of the Campaign was not remarkable for any extraordinary Incident on this Side ; but on the other, the *French* obtained some Advantages over *Spain* by their Fleets, which were counterballanced again by Marshal *la Force's* Defeat at *Fontarabia*†. The Prince, on his Part, having sent the Troops into Quarters, sat out for the *Hague*, where he found the Queen Mother of *France*, who shortly after embarked for *England*, to pay the

* Afterwards *Lewis XIV.*

† In *Spanish*, *Fuenterabia*, a Frontier Town of *Biscay*, bordering upon *Gascony*.

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the Queen her Daughter a Visit, and was lodged in *St. James's* Palace.

By Virtue of the Agreement made this Winter, 1638, between the Crown of *France* and the States General, the Armies were to take the Field in the Month of *May* ensuing, in order to some Enterprize of Weight; which Convention was executed accordingly, the Marquis *de la Meilleraye* taking the Route of *St. Omer* with his Forces, while the Prince assembled the States Forces at *Voorn*, where the *Meuse* and *Vabal* disembogue into the Sea, a Place very commodiously situate, either for a Descent upon the *Flemish* Coast, or any Expedition against the *Spanish Netherlands*: These Motions induced the Cardinal Infant to divide his Army into three separate Corps, one he gave to the Count *de Feria*, the second to the Marquis *de Lede*, and marched himself at the Head of the third towards the Frontier of *France*, taking with him the famous *Fuentes*: This caused an Alteration in the Marquis's Scheme, who made a Counter-march immediately, and went and broke Ground before *Heusden*.

Notwithstanding that the Siege of this Place was not of an Importance suitable to the Convention, the Prince, nevertheless, tho' at that Time much afflicted with the Gout, set out from *Voorn*, in order to a Descent upon *Flanders*, and received Advise, as he passed before *Dort*,

of *Picolomini's* having defeated Marshal *Feuquieres*, who was attempting the Siege of *Tbi-onville*. This Overthrow, and an Account he had soon after, of *Feria's* being advanced towards the Country of *Waas*, determined the Prince, with Advice of his Officers, to lay aside all Thoughts of besieging *Hulst*, as was concerted, and march to cover Fort *Philippin*, a Place of great Importance to the States, upon the *Flemish* Coast, and which the *Spaniards* had always a wistful Eye upon, the rather, as the Success of the Siege of *Heusden* was very dubious. The Rumour of this intended Descent of the Prince's, proved a great Advantage, however, to the common Cause, for it obliged the Infant, who was marching to the Relief of that Town, to send part of his Troops to watch the Motions of the States Army; by which Means *la Meilleraye* carried his Point, forced the Garrison of *Heusden* to capitulate, and was created a Marshal of *France*, by the King in Person, upon the Breach, in return for the Service he had done. Upon this the Infant, having united his Forces with those under *Picolomini*, left him the sole Command of the Troops; and took up his Quarters at *Ghent*, escorted by 4000 Foot, whom he sent afterwards to reinforce *Feria*. The Prince of *Orange* finding that no Enterprize could be formed on that Side, sailed from Fort *Philippin* for *Berghe-op-zoom*, and from thence striking off towards *Breda* and *Bois-le-duc*, arrived in nine Days before *Rhinberg*, where he encamped, intending

to lay Siege to *Gueldres* ; but as the Marquis *de Lede* had thrown 5000 Men into the Place, taking Shipping upon the *Rhine*, he made all the Sail he could towards the Coast of *Flanders*, where he had given Rendezvous to part of his Troops, that were sent by Land, and arrived, not without great Difficulty, near *Hulst*. Finding his Designs anticipated, when he came there, by the Cardinal Infant, who had passed the *Scheld* with the utmost Diligence, he was forced to encamp in that Neighbourhood, and the Season being far advanced, was soon after recalled to the *Hague*, much about the Time that Admiral *Tromp* encounter'd and ruined a *Spanish* * Armada of seventy Ships of the Line, bound for *Dunkirk*, upon the Coast of *Kent*, which was the greatest Stroke that Nation had received since the Year 1588.

The Operations of the next Campaign, seem'd concerted with more than usual Vigour ; for on the *French* Side the Cardinal *Richelieu*, and the Prince on that of the States, agreed, that the Field should be taken earlier than ever, the King proposing, in Person, to invade the *Spanish Netherlands*, at the Head of a powerful Army, while the Prince, on his Side, attacked *Bruges*, *Damme*, and the Forts about *Sluys* all at one Time, if possible ; great Subsidies of Money, being promised the States for that

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* It is remarkable, that the *English* Navy was in Sight when this Engagement happened, but thought fit to stand Neuter.

Purpose, as they were to levy 12,000 Men above their usual Complement.

Things being in Readiness on either Side, the Prince caused to be assembled together near *Dort*, one of the finest Armies the States had ever yet seen in their Service, consisting of about 22,000 Foot, and 4500 Horse, with Artillery, Waggon, and all Necessaries in Proportion. The Infantry, Ordnance, and Baggage, were embarked immediately for *Flanders*, but the Cavalry he sent by Land to *Bergben-op-zoom*, following in Person from the *Hague*; and leaving sufficient Troops for the Security of the Coasts of the *Rhine* and *Meuse*. With these Forces he arrived at Fort *Philippin*, about the Middle of *May*, from whence, having marched to within Half a League of *Sas-van-Ghent*, he received Information that *Fuentes*, who lay strongly entrenched with a Body made up of Regular Troops, and armed Boors, along the Canal that communicates between *Sas* and *Ghent*, was upon his March towards *Ghent*, in order to proceed to *Bruges*, the hithermost Canal being secured all the Way, by more than 15,000 Peasants over and above the usual Guard; and that the Infant, who was at *Ghent*, had detached from the main Army Don *Philip de Silva*, with Orders to make Head against Marshal *Chatillon*, while *Lamboy*, with the Imperial Troops, the Duke of *Lorain* with his own, and *Beck* with another Body from *Luxemburg*,

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burg, were advancing against Marshal *la Meilleraye* near *Charlemont*; the great Rains having hitherto prevented any Action.

The Prince, who had the Enterprize upon *Bruges* extremely at Heart, commanded Count *Henry* of *Nassau-Frizeland* to march two Hours before Day, with a large Detachment of Horse and Foot, and some Cannon; and to endeavour to throw a Bridge over the *Leye*, at a Pass which was slightly guarded, whilst he himself made all the Haste possible after him with the main Army; Count *Henry* marched with his Detachment accordingly, and was soon followed by the Prince, of whom he got the Start but a few Hours: As the Prince was hastening, next Day, to refresh his Army on a Plain, great firing was heard towards *Bruges*, upon which, being firmly persuaded that the *Spaniards* were disputing the Passage of the River, he beat to Arms immediately, rode about the Ranks, encouraging the Soldiers to do their Duty, and pointed, with Joy in his Countenance, to the Steeples of *Bruges*, telling them pleasantly, *that was the Mistress they were to contend for.*

This Affability of Behaviour, which upon an hundred Occasions had gained the Prince their Hearts, met with the Return it deserved, the Troops expressing the utmost Alacrity, and a Readiness, if Occasion required, to die in his Service.

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The first Ranks were already filed off, into a Road that leads to the great Plain of *Bruges*, when Colonel *Æmema* arrived, on a full Gallop, from Count *Henry*, to acquaint his Highness, that there had been an unexpected Opposition from a Lodgment the Enemies were possessed of, at a Place called *Hollandsluys*, which had obliged him to storm the Post before he laid his Bridge; but that this Attack had taken up so much of his Time, as gave the Enemies Leisure to send Forces to secure the Pass; and that the extraordinary Fire from that Side having rendered the Count's Project impracticable, he had ranged his Men behind some rising Grounds, out of the Reach of the Cannon, till he knew his Highnesses Pleasure.

The Prince, concerned beyond Measure at this Defeat of a Scheme of that mighty Importance, sent the Colonel back, and with him *Brederode*, General of the Train, to take ample Information of the whole Affair; whose Report agreeing, in all Respects, with *Æmema's*, and the Impossibility of passing the *Leye*, coming confirmed, Count *Henry* was ordered back to the Army, which stayed to refresh itself, some Days, at Villages by the Way: News being brought, in the mean time, of the Enemy's Design upon *Breda*, the Prince dispatched thither, from the Camp, *Hauterive**, Governor

* A French Officer of great Merit, whom the Cardinal hated, and the Prince, out of Pique partly to the Cardinal, had taken into the States Pay.

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Governor of that Place, with about 4000 Men; but as the Marshals *Chatillon* and *La Meilleraye*, had just then invested *Arras*, that Alarm caused a sudden Alteration in the Cardinal Infant's Measures, who left *Ghent* precipitately, to go to the Relief of *Arras*, giving *Fuentes* the Command of his Troops in those Parts. That General, assisted by *Sfondrato*, kept so watchful an Eye upon the Canals between *Sas*, *Ghent*, and *Bruges*, that the Prince, frustrated in all his Endeavours to pass them, broke up from his Camp, determined to attempt the taking of *Hulst*; and accordingly sent Count *Henry* with a Detachment before, to reconnoitre the Ground, and possess himself of certain Posts, commanding *Hauterive*, at the same Time (as now there was no Fear for *Breda*) to join the Count with forty Companies at *Fort Saint Anne's*, and act in Concert with him: *Hauterive*, who was an old Soldier, executed his Orders punctually, and made himself Master of *Fort Nassau*, in the Neighbourhood of *Hulst*, a Post of Importance; but the young Count *Henry*, thro' some Mistake, not meeting with the same Success in his Share of the Enterprize, and having therefore received a Reprimand from the Prince his Cousin, the most exact Man living in Point of Discipline, exposing himself too inconsiderately in a very warm Action, that happened near *Fort Nassau*, in the Night-time, and in which there was much Blood spilt on either Side, received a Pistol Shot in his Reins, of which

which he * died, univerfally regretted, a few Days after, at *Fort Saint Anne*. His Estates devolved, by his untimely Fate, upon his Brother, *William Frederick*, Great-Grand-father to his now reigning Highness of *Orange*.

The Enterprize upon *Hulft* being difconcerted, by the Enemy's hasty March to its Relief, in the fame Manner as had been that upon *Bruges*, it was judged neceffary to abandon *Fort Naffau*, which, upon the Account of its defencelefs State, was a Post no ways maintainable; the Army having broke up, marched towards the *Meufe*, to make a Diversion, in Favour of the *French* before *Arras*, and to call away Part of the Forces that were with the Cardinal Infant. And now the Prince, who could not bear to lye idle, was projecting how to inveft *Gueldres*, a Town that had been an Eye-fore to him of many Years ftanding, when News being arrived of the Surrender of *Arras*, and the Winter advancing apace, he found himfelf under a Neceffity of difmiffing his Troops, and purfued his Journey to the *Hague* as ufual.

The Government of *Groninguen*, vacant by the Death of Count *Henry Cafimir*, as above-mentioned, being now tendered to the Prince of *Orange*, by a Deputation from that Province, his

* The Count lay upon the Field feveral Hours before he was known and taken up.

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his Highness set out to take Possession of it; and, after a magnificent Reception at *Groninguen*, where he passed several Days, having likewise obtained the Survivorship for his Son, returned for the *Hague*, in the beginning of *December*, where he received the welcome Tidings of the Honour intended him by King *Charles*, in bestowing in Marriage, upon his Son *William*, the Princess *Mary*, his eldest Daughter; to which, having obtained the Concurrence of the States General, their High Mightinesses were pleased to appoint an Embassy to *England*, to demand her Royal Highness in Form, as likewise to express the Interest the States took in the Welfare of the House of *Nassau-Orange* which they owed such mighty Obligations to. The Persons charged with this Commission were the Sieurs *Brederode*, *Sommerdyke* and *Heenvliet*.

In the Beginning of the new Year 1641, the three Embassadors left the *Hague*, and embarking at *Helvoutsluys*, arrived at *Dover* the third Day; from whence they pursued their Journey to *London*, being received by their Majesties, suitably to their Characters, and the Dignity of the Power they represented. The King having appointed Commissioners to draw up the Articles between the Prince, at that Time fifteen Years old, and the Princess, who was four Years younger, the Prince of *Orange* judged it expedient to send his Son over with
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all Speed to pay his Compliment of Thanks to their Majesties, as also to put the last Hand to the Contract; and accordingly the young Prince left the *Hague* on the twentieth of *April* following, accompanied by abundance of Lords and Persons of Distinction; and taking the same Route the Embassadors had done, crossed the Channel in two Days under the Convoy of twenty Sail of Men of War, commanded by the Vice Admiral of *Holland*: Upon the Prince's landing at *Dover*, being received by the Earl of *Lindsey*, Lord Chamberlain of *England*, he pursued his Journey in the King's Coaches, with all his Retinue, amidst innumerable Acclamations, and was met in the Banquetting Room at *Whitehall* by the Prince of *Wales*, and the Duke of *York*, who conducted him to their Majesties. The Prince having paid his Compliments to the King and Queen, waited upon the Princess *Mary*, then residing at *Arun-del* House in the *Strand*, their Majesties being present likewise at this Interview, and renewing the Marks of their Esteem to the Prince, which were continued to him in a most affectionate Manner, the whole Time of his Highness's Residence at the *English* Court.

On the twelfth of *May*, N. S. the Day appointed for the Nuptial Ceremony, the Prince, conducted by the Embassadors of the States, and the Princess by the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York*, were espoused in the King's Presence,

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fence, by the Bishop of *Ely*, Dean of the Chapel: the Queen, and the Queen-Mother of *France*, because of the Difference in Point of Religion, seeing the Ceremony incognito, from a Gallery. The new married Couple, so soon as the Solemnity was over, dined in Publick with the King, the two Queens, and the two Princes, Brothers to the Bride; and, at Night, the Princess being put to Bed, in Presence of the same illustrious Company; and some of the Courtiers; the Prince, who had been undrest in an adjoining Room, was brought in by the King, laid by the Side of her Royal Highness for some Time, and then reconducted to his Apartment. In this Manner was that Ceremony transacted; after which the Prince continued in *England* three Weeks longer; and then, having taken his Leave of the King, Queen, Royal Family, and whole *English* Court, and promised, pursuant to the Marriage Articles, to send over for the Princess his Spouse, by the limited Time, was accompanied to the *Downs* by the Earl of *Holland*, where he found the Vice-Admiral ready to receive him on board; and, about the beginning of *June*, having landed at *Helvoetsluys*, arrived at the *Hague*, to the inexpressible Joy of their Highnesses of *Orange*, and of all the Provinces of the Union.

The Prince of *Orange*, without waiting for his Son's Return, indefatigable, as usual, tho' beginning to be severely visited with the Gout,

had taken the Field the first of *May*, at the Head of 20,000 Horse and Foot, with a Train of forty Field-pieces, and marching towards *Grave*, forming the Design of besieging *Genap*, a strong Castle belonging to the Duke of *Cleves*, situate at the Conflux of the *Meuse* and *Niers*, which had been garisoned by the Cardinal Infant, in Violation of the Neutrality allowed that Dutchy by the Archduchess *Ijabella*, and augmented by Works very difficult of Access. For the Attack of this Place, was the Prince making all necessary Dispositions, when the vigilant Count of *Fuentes* arrived with a fine Army, and coasting the *Meuse* for a good Way, on the *Brabant* Side, floated his Pontoons, at the same Time, down the River, in the View of throwing Succours into *Genap*; but as *Fuentes* strove to force Count *Horne's* Quarters, timely Assistance being sent thither by the Prince, he was repulsed with Loss, and gave the Enterprize quite over.

Preston, an *Irish* Officer, who commanded in *Genap*, disappointed of Succours as he found himself, made a brave Defence notwithstanding, being Master of certain Sluices moreover, by Means of which the Works of the Besiegers were often rendered useless; but such a Perseverance as the Prince's at last overcoming all Obstacles, the Governor being threatened with a general Storm, which he could not any-ways have withstood, made an honourable Composition; and the Prince, in Acknowledgement
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of his Valour, as they marched out, dismounted to return his Compliment, which he did in the most obliging Terms, in Presence of his Son, Prince *William* (lately returned from *England*) of the *French* Embassador, and a Multitude of People of Distinction, who came to wish his Highness Joy of the Success. Here was the Prince compelled to stay a Month, till the necessary Repairs were finished; during which Time, the welcome News arrived of *Aire's* being taken by Marshal *La Meilleraye*; this Town was the Key of *Flanders*, in a manner, on the Side of *Picardy*.

A short Digression may come in here pertinently enough, perhaps, upon a remarkable Incident which happened a little before *Aire* was taken, and gave no small Turn to the Affairs of *Europe*.

Among the vast Number of Enemies that Cardinal *Richelieu*, the Prime Minister of *France*, by a long Suite of tyrannical Proceedings, had brought upon himself (especially since his taking off the Duke of *Monmorenci*) those who made the most formidable Stand against his arbitrary Measures, on the Account of their Birth and Interest, were the Count of *Soissons*, Prince of the Blood, and the Dukes of *Bouillon* and *Guise*, the former Nephew to the Prince of *Orange*, and the latter descended from Ancestors who had had the largest Share in the Troubles of *France*, of the preceding Century. The Count, upon

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his first Heart-burning, had retired to *Sedan*, a Place belonging to the House of *Bouillon*, for the Safety of his Person; where, as he could by no Means comply with the unsatisfactory Proposals offered him by the Court, the Animosities grew to that Head between him, the two Dukes, and the Cardinal, that those three Princes thus declaring openly for the Emperor and King of *Spain*, raised an Army, with the Remittances sent them by those Powers, and joined *Lamboy*, the Imperial General, in Opposition to Marshal *Chatillon*, who was advancing towards them with a Body of Troops. The two Armies having done little else than look at one another, for some Time, *Chatillon*, who was drawing nearer to *Sedan*, was attacked by the Count of *Soissons*, *Bouillon*, and *Lamboy*, his Army defeated, Cannon, Colours, and Baggage taken, and forced to leave the Field to the Conquerors, when a Pistol Bullet, unaccountably shot from an unknown Hand*, took off the Count, in the full Career of so signal a Victory, and in the very midst of his own Men. As this martial Prince was the Soul of the Malecontent Party, the Loss of him threw such a Damp on the Cause, that, notwithstanding some small Advantages gained by the two Dukes, in Consequence of the Battle of *Sedan*,

* Some are of Opinion, that in lifting up the Vizor of his Helmet, after the Heat of the Engagement, with the End of his Pistol, he accidentally drew the Trigger, and shot himself; but it is much likelier to have been the Effect of a Bribe from *Richelsen*, to some of his Officers or Domesticks.

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Sedan, their Followers diminished daily, and *Bouillon* himself was forced to make his Submission, and content himself with a Pardon, which cost him the Sovereignty of *Sedan*, and so their new Confederacy came to nothing.

The mighty Expectations of *Spain* and the Empire, from their Alliance with those illustrious Malecontents, being now wholly vanished, the *French* were soon able to act offensively again, and whilst the Cardinal Infant attempted the recovering of *Aire*, they took the Route of *Lisle*, under the Command of the three Marshals, *Chastillon*, *Brezé*, and *La Meilleraye*, and ravaged all that Neighbourhood, possessing themselves likewise of *La Bassée*, a Post of Importance between that City and *Arras*.

The Prince of *Orange*, in the mean Time, at the *French* King's particular Desire, broke up from *Genap*; and tho' *September* was already far advanced, having marched his Troops, by Land, as far as *Nimeguen*, embarked them at that Place for the Coast of *Flanders*, designing once more to invest *Sas*, if possible, before *Fuentes* could arrive to its Relief: But as this was a Post of the utmost Consequence to *Spain*, he found so strong a Guard upon the Avenues of the Canal, that he was forced to encamp at some Distance, and suspend the Execution of his Project to a fitter Opportunity. The only Action of Moment that happened, while the

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Army continued on this Ground, was the Surprise of an advanc'd Quarter, by Don *Andrea Catelmo*, who carry'd off the Prince of *Talmon*'s Horses, together with some Prisoners, but was briskly repulsed by a Party from the Camp. The Prince finding *Fuentes* retir'd towards *Antwerp*, broke up from this marshy unwholesome Spot in *October*, dismiss'd his Troops into Quarters, and came to the *Hague*, where he met with the usual hearty Reception.

The Operations of the Campaign did not cease in the same Manner upon the *Rhine*, where the Count of *Guebriant* had been substituted by *France* to the deceased Duke of *Sax-Weymar*, and acted against the Empire, at the Head of the united *French*, *Swedes*, and *Hessians*. The said Count having laid a Bridge over the River, in the Month of *January*, near *Wejel*; had just march'd his Troops over, when, upon Notice that *Lamboy* was advancing, he made all possible haste to fight him; and, after a warm Engagement of many Hours, Fortune declar'd in *Guebriant*'s Favour, who took *Lamboy*, and about 1200 of his Men Prisoners, cut off five or six Thousand, and became Master of all their Cannon, Baggage, and eighty Standards or Colours. The taking of *Kempen* and *Nuits*, in the Diocese of *Cologne*, was the immediate Consequence of this mighty Victory, which put him in Possession likewise, of a large and rich

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rich Country to Canton his Troops in, and was worth him a Marshal's Battoon into the Bargain. On the other Hand, Don *Francisco de Melo* was appointed Successor by the King of *Spain*, to the brave Cardinal Infant, his Majesty's Brother, lately dead of a lingering Sickness, at *Brussels*.

The Prince of *Orange*, who now began to wait his Daughter-in-Law's Arrival with Impatience, dispatch'd M. *Heenvliet* over to demand the Princess Royal at the Hands of the King her Father: His Majesty, whose Divisions with his Parliament were then almost War-ripe, granted the Ambassador's Request, and the Queen purposing to accompany her Daughter *, conducted them himself as far as *Dover*, from whence a Servant of Prince *William's* was dispatch'd before, to acquaint the States and their Highnesses with the Royal Visit that was intended them. This Messenger had not been arrived many Hours, when the Queen's Convoy was in sight of the *Dutch Coast*, her Equipage having already reach'd the *Goeree*; upon which, the young Prince was sent by his Father, with a suitable Retinue, to compliment her Majesty upon her landing, his own Yacht being in Readiness for her Reception at *Heivoetsluys*, in Order to

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* It is supposed, that Princess had other Views, besides the Affection to her Daughter, and might come to solicit Aids for the King against the Parliament, the Animosities between them being grown to a great Head.

bring her to *Rotterdam*, where the Burghers were already prepar'd to pay her all possible Honour. The Prince finding the Queen already come ashore with her Court, waited upon her to the *Brill*, where she was soon after met by the Prince of *Orange*, and having cross'd the River at *Maeslandsluys* early next Morning, to avoid the Inconveniency of the Passage to *Rotterdam*, was, pursuant to her own Desire, conducted to the *Hague* by Land: In her way thither, she stopp'd at *Honslaerdyke*, a Seat of the Prince of *Orange's*, where a magnificent Dinner was provided for her, and the young Princess, at which were present also the Queen of *Bobemia*, her Sister in Law, with two of her Sons; the Prince of *Orange*, and Prince *William*. Here her Majesty was waited on by the *French* Embassador, and the Deputies of the States; and setting out with the whole illustrious Company for the *Hague*, arrived there the same Night, amidst innumerable Acclamations, the Burghers under Arms, lining the Streets as she pass'd, and the Prince's Guards being drawn up in the Market Place: She alit at the Palace of *Orange*, where she was receiv'd by the Princess and all the Ladies, and conducted to a splendid Apartment. The whole Body of the States General came to welcome her soon after, and the seventh or eighth Day from the Queen's Arrival, the young Princess was conducted in great Pomp, with her Majesty's Approbation, to the Palace where the Prince had taken up his

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his Residence, in order to continue near her Husband, who came in Person to fetch her, under the Eye of the Princess of *Orange*, her Mother-in-Law. The Queen, after this took a Tour round all the principal *Dutch* Towns, received every where, as well by Magistrates as Burghers, with Demonstrations of the highest Respect; and as the Time drew near for the Prince to take the Field, having an extreme Desire to see the Troops, his Highness pass'd them in Review before her Majesty near *Voorn*, to the extreme Satisfaction of her, and her Court.

The Operations of the Campaign being now commenced, the Prince received the unwelcome News of the retaking of *la Bassée*, and the overthrow of the Marshal de *Guiche* by Don *Francisco de Melo*, who having join'd the Count de *Fuentes*, at *Tirlemont*, after his Victory, was advancing towards him with about 15,000 Horse and Foot. The Prince, upon this Intelligence, not doubting, but their Design was, in Conjunction with a third Body of Troops under General *Hatzvelt*, to go and attack Marshal *Guebriant*, who lay encamp'd near *Nuitz* in the Diocess of *Cologne*, especially as *Melo* and *Fuentes* had laid Bridges over the *Meuse*, gave immediate Notice of these Motions to the Marshal, desiring he would retire to *Ordingen*, where he, who was marching to *Orsoy*, could be near at Hand to assist him, and give *Melo* Battle if they thought it advisable.

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In order to execute this Design, the Prince decamp'd from *Voorn*, in the middle of *June*, and passing the *Meuse* over Pontoons, at *Midelaar*, got, in less than seven Days, to the Ground he intended, between *Rbynberg* and *Orsoy*, where he strongly entrench'd his Men, and received Advice the next Day, that *Guebriant*, pursuant to his Request, was in Possession of the Post of *Ordingen*. The two Generals by this Means having secured their Communication along the *Rhine*, some Days pass'd in reciprocal Visits, and Offices of Civility; the *French* Camp being all the Time plentifully supply'd with Provisions thro' the Prince of *Orange's* extreme Attention. In this Situation did they continue some Weeks, no more than one Skirmish happening all the while (in which the *Rbyngrave* too unadvisedly charging a Party on its March to *Melo's* Camp, fell into their Hands) till Want of Forage, and the Approach of the Winter, caused them to separate, *Guebriant* steering his Course towards *Nuits*, while the Prince directed his towards *Genap*; after Letters of Thanks received by him, on the Part of the *French* King, who owned his Obligations to him for preserving his Army. From *Genap* the Prince repass'd the *Meuse*, taking the Route of *Boisleduc*, near which he encamp'd at a Place call'd *Oosterwick*; and this Motion of his having alarmed *Fuentes* into a Pursuit of him (a Thing his Highness had in View, that *Guebriant*, by that Means might be at Liberty to march, as he designed, into the

Bishoprick

Bishopricks of *Munster*) after a three Weeks Stay at *Oosterwick*, he order'd his Troops into Winter Quarters, and went for the *Hague* by way of *Breda*.

The Queen of *England*, who continued to receive worse and worse * Accounts, of the King her Husband's Affairs, was still resident in that Place, at the Prince's Return from the Campaign; but upon repeated Messages from his Majesty, then quarter'd at *Oxford*, she had determin'd, tho' in the Depth of Winter, to sail for *Newcastle*, the only Port she could venture to with Safety, in order to join him; and, pursuant to that Resolution, the States caused ten stout Ships of the Line to come to an Anchor at *Scheveling* to convey her Majesty. The States having then wish'd her a prosperous Voyage, and given Proofs of the Sense of the Honour she had done them by a magnificent Present, she embarked on the 29th of *January*, at *Scheveling*, under a Salvo of fifty Cannon, being conducted thither by the Queen of *Bohemia*, the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, Prince *William* and his Princess, the Deputies of the States, and a numerous Nobility of both Sexes, parting from her Daughter with infinite Tears, and expressing the Obligations she lay under to the Prince, Princess, and the States, in a most courteous and pathetick Manner; but the

* This was after *Brentford* Fight, where he found that Opposition from the *Londoners*.

the Wind coming contrary next Day, and growing more and more tempestuous, after many fruitless Attempts to keep the Sea, for a Week running, during which, most of the Ships separated (two that carried Horses for the King's Service having the Misfortune, moreover, to be cast away) the Queen was forced back into *Scheveling* on the 7th of *February*, where being met and re-conducted to the *Hague*, by the same illustrious Company, she was obliged to continue there, entertained all the Time at his Highness's Cost, till the tenth of *March* following, when she took her final Farewel, the new Convoy, the States had prepared, being in Readiness, and sailing with a fair Wind from *Scheveling*, on Board Admiral *Tromp*, landed at a small Harbour in the North, four Days after, where the Marquis of *Newcastle*, waited upon her Majesty, and conducted her to *York*.

The Prince, in the same Month, received the Tydings of two important Events; the Cardinal *Richelieu's* Death, the other the young Duke of * *Engbien's* compleat Victory over *Francisco de Melo* at *Rocroy*, where the brave
Fuentes

* This was afterwards the famous Prince of *Condé*; he was at the Time of this Battle but twenty Years old. He shewed a generous Reluctancy upon this Occasion, to destroy so many brave Men; but being forced to it by their obstinate Resistance, brought down his Cannon loaded with Cartridge, insomuch that whole Ranks and Files were cut off, as they stood, and the Count was found dead in his Litter, which he was forced to keep to, by Reason of the Gout, at the Head of them. The *Spanish* Infantry, esteemed the best in the World, never recovered this Loss.

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Fuentes was killed, at the Head of his *Spanish* Infantry, who forming themselves into square Battalions, after the Defeat of the Horse, refused Quarter that was offered, and were cut to Pieces to a Man. A still greater Piece of News came at the Heels of these Advices, I mean the Death of *Lewis XIII*, which happen'd at *St. Germain*, on the 18th of *May*, 1643. He left two Infant Sons, by *Anne* of *Austria* his Queen; the eldest of whom succeeded him by the Name of *Lewis XIV*.

The States, after due Consultations with the Prince upon Incidents of this mighty Moment, thought it highly expedient for their Army to enter upon Action; and the Prince having issued his Orders accordingly for a general Rendezvous at *Voorn*, he sailed from thence with all Hasten for the *Flemish* Coast, not discouraged by so many successless Expeditions thither, and came to Anchor at *Fort St. Anne's*, in the Neighbourhood of *Hulst*. From thence he marched, without loss of Time, to seize *Fort Nassau* (which had been taken, but abandoned two Campaigns before) but found *Cantelmo* strongly entrenched there with a considerable Force, consisting, in part, of the Run-aways from *Rocroy*, where the whole Cavalry almost saved themselves by flight. As it was not judged adviseable to attack Troops posted to that Advantage, with *Fort Nassau* in their Front, and *Hulst* in their Rear, in a Ground, especially, where

where neither Horse nor Cannon could be of any Use ; the Prince remained in that Posture some Weeks, resolving to wait there till he was informed of the Consequences of the Duke of *Engbien's* Victory, which was immediately followed by the Siege of *Thionville*, a Place of great Strength upon the *Moselle*.

The Approach of the Winter at last inducing the States to believe, that little could be done on the *French* Side, their Army was ordered to re-embark for *Bergen-op-zoom*, near which the Prince cantoned his Horse, leaving his Infantry on Board the Vessels : This Motion produced a like one in the *Spaniards*, who were forthwith quartered in and about the Suburbs of *Antwerp*, and in this Posture lay the two Armies, within four Hours Distance of each other, skirmishing daily by Parties ; in one of which, the Prince of *Orange* having commanded out his Son, with several Squadrons, to support a Detachment that was sent before, by way of Lure for the Enemy ; the Prince, then aged but Seventeen, behaved with that Bravery in this his Maiden Exploit, that he returned to his Quarters with Horses and Prisoners in abundance ; of which Number, besides a Commissary General, twelve Captains, and many Officers of inferior Note, was Don *Juan de Borgia* himself, Lieutenant General of the *Spanish* Cavalry.

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The Prince finding it impossible, nevertheless, to draw the *Spaniards* to a Battle, dismissed his Troops, as usual, and returned to the *Hague*, at which Place arrived, soon after, the Counts *d'Avaux* and *Servient*, named Plenipotentiaries on the Part of *France*, in the ensuing Negotiations of a General Peace, to be treated upon at *Munster*, by Agreement of all the Powers concerned. The States being so deeply interested in this weighty Affair, the whole Winter was spent in Deliberations with those Ministers, with whom it was agreed, that no Measures should be taken, or Proposals received but by the mutual Consent of both Parties. Every Thing being thus settled, the Plenipotentiaries took their Farewel in the Beginning of the Year 1644, in order to go to the Rendezvous; leaving *M. de la Tuillerie*, Embassador in ordinary, to concert the Operations of the Campaign with the States General, and the Prince of *Orange*.

The Attack of *Flanders*, the richest of all the *Spanish Netherland* Provinces, being now once more resolved upon, the Duke of *Orleans*, Uncle to the new Monarch, in Pursuance of this Plan, was to march and invest *Gravelines*, a Port situate between *Dunkirk* and *Calais* (the States having promised thirty Men of War to assist in that Service, under the Command of the famous *Tromp*) while the Prince of *Orange*, on the other Hand, formed the Siege of *Sassan-Ghent*,

van-Ghent, which was the Key of that Province on the *Holland Side*.

Not to take up the Reader's Time with the Preparations for this famous Siege, I shall briefly inform him, that in the beginning of *June*, the Prince having embark'd his Troops at *Voorn*, the usual Rendezvous, divided them into two Bodies, one of which he gave *M. Brederode*, with Orders to land at *Albert's Polder*, within Cannon Shot of *Sas*; and followed with the other himself in Person to Fort *Philippin*, a little above the *Polder*. *Brederode* having done as directed, sent Scouts to reconnoitre the Enemy, who informed him, that a great Body commanded by Count *Isenburg*, lay encamp'd on the other Side the Canal of Communication, between *Sas* and *Ghent*, near *St. Peter's Fort*, the very Post which that General had Orders to seize, with a View of intercepting all Inter-course, between *Sas* and *Hulst*. *Brederode* having made his Report to the Prince, was commanded, notwithstanding, to follow his Instructions; the Prince giving him to understand, that for his Part, he would endeavour to pass the Canal a good way higher, in order to draw *Isenburg*, if possible, from his Post, and accordingly the same Night detach'd Prince *Thal-mont* * towards *Riemen*, to see if the Canal was fordable. But this Enterprize being found ex-
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* Of the House of *la Trimouille*, into which *Charlotte Bra-bantine*, half Sister to the Prince of *Orange*, had married.

treme hazardous upon Trial, and a second Message receiv'd from *Brederode*, with repeated Assurances of the Impossibility of executing the Prince's Orders upon *Fort St. Pierre*, by Reason of Count *Isenburg's* Encampment; the Prince had Recourse to one of his martial Stratagems, and making Shew as if he had changed his Design, broke up from *Fort Philippin*, having enjoined *Brederode* to follow him, and marched directly for *Maldeghem*, a Town within two Hours March of *Bruges*, where he took up his Quarters, intending, to all Appearance, to attempt the Passage of the Canal, as a Preliminary to the Siege of that important City.

The Alarm *Isenburg* took, on this sudden Alteration in the Prince of Orange's Measures, produced its desired Effect, by obliging him to leave *Fort St. Pierre* with all Expedition, in order to follow the Prince; who no sooner perceived the Count posted within half a League of *Bruges*, to cover that Place, but he made a sudden Counter-march in the Night, leaving *Brederode* at *Maldeghem* for a Day, to amuse the Enemy, and the better to conceal his Design; as he passed through the Country, caused it to be given out, that he was going to re-embark at *Fort Philippin*.

The Prince having marched back, in this Manner, to *Assenede*, a large Village, where he had given *Brederode* the Rendezvous, and

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made the proper Dispositions, resolving to put his great Project in Execution that Night, sent for all the Chief Officers, informed them of his Design, and exhorted them to take special Care to prevent their Troops straggling in the dark; commanding withal, M. *Beverweert* *, Lieutenant General, to lead up the Van; *Beverweert* was immediately to be followed by a Lieutenant Colonel, with 300 expert Swimmers, in order to cross the Canal between *Ghent* and *Sas*, in a Place where it was not fordable, and seize a certain Post on the opposite Side, thereby to facilitate the laying of the Pontoons, which were in the Rear of that advanced Party. After this went two Detachments more, with each a Pontoon, made of Reeds, at their Head, to attack other Posts on the abovementioned Canal, the Prince himself following, with a Pontoon, and the main Body of his Infantry, in which were seven or eight *British* Regiments, and four *French* ones, and twenty Field-pieces, under the Direction of Count *Hornes*: In his Rear he ranged the Horse in three Divisions, under the Command of the *Rhingrave*, the Count of *Stirum*, and General *Stackenbrouck*, but all subordinate to Prince *William* his Son, who had already given those early Proofs of Gallantry

* Natural Son to Prince *Maurice*; a brave Soldier, and esteemed one of the finest Gentlemen in *Europe*: He was Father, by his Wife the Countess of *Hornes*, to the late famous M. *D'Auverquerque*, to M. *D'Odyck*, and M. *Laleck*: And, by several Daughters he had, is Ancestor to some of the noblest Families in *Great-Britain*.

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lantry in the Action near *Antwerp*, of the preceding Campaign.

In this incomparable Order did the Troops march till within two Hours of Day; at which Time, M. *Beverweert* having assembled at his Detachment, and pointed out to each where they were to pass the Canal, giving them able Guides for that End, they arrived almost at one and the same Instant at the Passages proposed. The Colonel that led up the Swimmers, was the first who attempted that difficult Work, but coming a shore short of the intended Fort, found an unexpected Resistance, from a Body of *Spanish* Horse, which he put to the Rout however, after some Loss on his Side. The other Detachments obeying their Orders punctually, laid their Bridges in the same Manner, and attacked and carried the Forts; but as the Prince of *Orange* was laying the Pontoons on his Side, Colonel *Erskine*, at the Head of a *Scotch* Regiment, impatient of Delay, took to the Left, over one of the Bridges already laid, fell upon a Body of Foot that he saw at another Post, defeated them, mastered it, and brought their Commander Prisoner, with as many of his Soldiers as were left alive.

The Prince, now Master of all the Passes of the Canal of *Sas*, by this well-executed Scheme, advanced, without Delay, to *Selsaten*, within Cannon Shot of the Place; sending to acquaint

Brederode, whom he had left behind at *Assenede*, with his Success, and commanding him to follow forthwith. *Brederode* joined him accordingly that Evening; but endeavouring to lodge himself at *Fort St. Etienne*, somewhat too inconsiderately, sent 400 Men to attack the Place, who were many of them cut to Pieces, tho' it was carried in the End.

Count *Meghem*, whom *Isenburg* had left in these Parts, while he went himself in Pursuit of the Prince towards *Bruges*, finding all the Passes of the Canal forced, threw himself, with all his Men, and the Fugitives from the Forts, who might amount to about eight Companies, into *Sas*, before it was possible for the Prince to prevent it. His Highness persisting in his Design nevertheless, began to form his Lines and Approaches; and it was here that Count *William Frederick**, of *Nassau-Frizeland* (younger Brother and Heir to the much regretted *Henry Casimir*) having already made several Campaigns, had the Honour to command a principal Attack. Every thing being disposed for the Siege, and *Brederode* left there to command in Chief, the Prince, marching before break of Day, took his Post at *Assenede*, with his *English*, *French*, and *Walloon* Regiments, making, in all, about 10,000 Men, and 30 Squadrons of Horse, in order to discover *Isenburg's* Motions, and cover

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* Great Grand-father to his present Highness the Prince of *Nassau-Orange*: He was promoted to the Rank of Prince of the Empire.

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as well as direct, the Besiegers, of whom he was so much a *portes*. Thus was formed the Circumvallation of *Sas*, the investing of which the Prince had at Heart so many Years, due Provision being made for the Security of every Avenue leading to it, as well along the Canal, as on the Side of *Hulst*, and the *Albert's Polder*; and the Prince himself posted to hinder *Isenburg's* Approach, while the Siege of *Gravelines*, under the Duke of *Orleans*, was pushed on, at the same Time, with all imaginable Vigour. Here it may not be unworthy Observation, that *D'Estrades*, Embassador of *France*, who had one of the Regiments of that Nation in the State's Pay, actually did Duty in the Trenches at *Sas*, as *Charnassé*, his Predecessor, had done at *Breda*, where he had the Misfortune to fall, as was mentioned above. This shews how eager Men, of a distinguished Rank, were, in those Days, to learn the military Art under so able a Master; and, indeed, the Prince of *Orange* never took the Field, but he was accompanied by Volunteers of the highest Condition, from one Part of *Europe* or other.

The chiefest Difficulties remained yet unsurmounted, in the Siege of this important Fortrefs; for the Governor, by the Help of his Dykes, could not only lay a good Part of the Country under Water, but, on the other Hand, *Francisco de Melo* himself, having joined *Isenburg*, and being reinforced besides, by 7000
L 3
fresh

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fresh Troops, with the valiant Duke of *Lorain* at the Head of them, made all possible Haste to the Relief of *Sas*, encamping within Cannon-shot of *Brederode's* and *Nassau-Frizeland's* Attacks. The Siege was carried on, nevertheless, with incredible Vigour, and the Prince entrenched at *Assenede* in such a Manner, that the Governor of the *Netherlands* durst attempt nothing against him, being daily at the Approaches in Person, animated the Troops to that Degree, by his Example and Presence, that, in a few Days, notwithstanding a perpetual Fire, they had laid Bridges over a Fosse sixty Foot broad; by which Means a Lodgment was made upon the Counterscarp, on which Occasion, the Commander of the Workmen had his Hand shattered to Pieces by a Musket Ball, while the Prince, who held him by the Arm, was giving him Directions.

The Enemy having thrown up new Works behind the Counterscarp, as the Engineers were busy in raising other Batteries, and making new Galleries, there happened, in the Night-time, a most violent Storm of Wind and Rain, which added to the Inundations already caused by the Governor's cutting certain Dykes, the Water swelled higher than the Trenches, insomuch that the Men were in a quite despairing Condition, when they saw the Prince, up to his Middle in Water almost, inspiring them with fresh Courage, and conjuring them by their Honour,
and

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and every Thing they held most dear, not to quit an Enterprize they had so successfully begun, and to which, by the immediate Care he would take, their present Inconveniency would be an Obstacle of short Duration. How greatly this Behaviour of the Prince's revived their drooping Spirits, is incredible; every Soldier lent an Hand in the common Cause, Drains and Outlets were made; Cause-ways to the Trenches raised upon Planks, and in less than four Days, thro' the unwearied Application of this invincible Prince, all Things restored to their former Posture.

Count *Meghem*, justly apprehensive of the Consequence of this obstinate Bravery in the Besiegers, after one or two more fruitless Efforts to ruin the Fossé, beat a Drum, signifying his Desire to capitulate, just as the Prince, having visited the Trenches as usual, was about to take Horse, and return to his Quarters; *d' Estrades*, who brought his Highness this News, was ordered to demand their Hostages, who waited upon the Prince accordingly, desiring, on the Governor's Part, two Hours Time to draw up the Proposals. These being laid before him, at the End of the Term agreed upon, certain Alterations were made by his Highness; and the Count having approved of them, the Garrison evacuated *Sas* the next Day, marching out with the customary Marks of Honour, and were escorted as far as *Ghent*, many mutual Civilities

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passing upon that Occasion, between the Prince of *Orange* and *Meghem*: There went out in all between 4 and 5000 *Spaniards*; and thus fell into the Hands of the States, in less than a Month, from the Time of their Army's first breaking Ground, the supposed impregnable Fortress of *Sas*, in Sight of three renowned Generals, at the Head of all the *Austrian* Forces in the *Low-Countries*. The Prince, after a Month's Occupation in providing for the Town's future Safety on all Sides, and seeing his Lines levelled; leaving 2000 Men in actual Garrison there, and about twice as many to defend the Avenues, re-embarked with the rest of his Troops for *Bergen-op-zoom*, where, after an Halt of some Days, the Cavalry and Infantry were sent to their respective Quarters, whilst his Highness returned from the *Hague*, where the States and the People were preparing to receive him with Welcomes proportioned to so signal a Service.

In order to make a right Use of the Advantages of the foregoing Campaign, it was now judged highly expedient for the States Army, not only to be early in the Field the Year following, 1645, but likewise to have an Augmentation of 10,000 Men: The Prince had a yet stronger Motive to press these Levies to the utmost of his Power; and this was his earnest Desire to be beforehand with the *Spaniards*, and list into the States Service a Multitude of unemployed *Germans* and *Lorainers*, lately dismissed by *Lamboy* and

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and the Duke of *Lorain*, being of no further Use to them during the Winter, and who were ready to let themselves out to the first Bidder.

Whilst this was in Agitation, there happened an unlucky *Contretems*; for the Prince, upon the Account of a Difference with the King of *Denmark*, demanded a certain Toll of all *Dutch* Vessels that entered the Sound. The States General (as there were never wanting some in that Body who looked on the House of *Orange* with an Eye of Envy) resolved hereupon, to assist *Sweden* against that Crown, in Opposition to all that the Prince, and some of the Provinces could remonstrate to the contrary; and thus were the proposed Levies not only laid aside, but likewise a great deal of Time lost, insomuch that the *Spaniards* recruited their Army at Leisure, before Matters could be settled, with Regard to the War with *Denmark*; towards which, fifty Ships of the Line, and 5000 Land Forces, were furnished to Queen *Christina*.

When the Prince took the Field, half *May* being already over, for the Reasons above-mentioned, *Lamboy* and *Picolomini* were advanced to the Frontiers of *France*, and the Duke of *Lorain* advantageously posted between *Bruges* and *Ghent*, in order to defend the Canal. The Rendezvous, for this Campaign, was at *Dort*, the Operations being designed against *Antwerp*; from whence
Brederode

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Brederode and Prince *Talmont* were sent with 18 Squadrons, and 70 Companies, with Orders to unite their Troops at *Ramekens*, where they were to embark for *Sas*, and from *Sas* to advance, and seize, if possible, a Post the *Spaniards* had fortified between that Place and *Beveren*, where their main Body was entrenched, in order to dispute the States Army the Passage of the *Scheld*. *Brederode* obeyed his Instructions punctually, attacked and took the Fort, of which he sent to inform the Prince (then at *Bergen-op-zoom*) letting him know withal, that General *Beck* was advanced very near him ; which News brought his Highness from *Bergen*, in all Haste, with the rest of the Troops, to prevent *Brederode's* being fallen upon by the *Spaniards*, who outnumbered him vastly. The Prince was so expeditious in this Undertaking, that having instantly caused his Men to embark, he landed the very Night at *Sas*, and was advanced next Day to *Selsaten*, within an Hour of *Brederode's* Camp. His own Eyes having soon convinced him of the little Consequence of that Post that had been seized, he returned to *Selsaten* in Expectation of his Cavalry and Train of Ordnance, retarded some Days by bad Weather ; and after these had joined him, made an Attempt to draw *Beck* from the advantageous Post he was in, by feigning a March towards *Eckelo* ; from whence, as this Stratagem had no Effect, he proceeded farther on towards *Maldegbem*, commanding *Brederode* to follow him likewise, as if his Design

sign was against *Bruges*; notwithstanding all which, the wary *German* would by no Means quit his Ground, leaving the Care of the Canal between that City and *Ghent*, to the Duke of *Lorain*, who, had secured it. This obliged the Prince to entrench himself at *Maldeghem*, where he received the welcome News of *Mardyke's* Surrender to the Duke of *Orleans*, but that *Picolomini* and *Lamboy* obstructed his Royal Highness's further Projects upon *Dunkirk*, by the Posts they had fortified themselves in between that Port and *Berg St. Vinox*.

The Prince, with the Advice of his Council of War, in the mean Time, thinking he should risque both the Honour of the States and his own, by lying longer Idle, when the Season was so far advanced, broke up with his Army from *Maldeghem*, and marched with all Speed, Day and Night, for *Isendyck*, a little Port between *Hulst* and *Antwerp*, belonging to the States, in the View of landing near *Antwerp*, having sent Orders before-hand to the Vessels at *Sas*, to meet him at the said *Isendyck*, where he arrived the next Day at Noon, but found himself disappointed of his Ships; which the contrary Wind, and a Calm together, had kept back; nor did more than only one Part of them arrive the next Day, on which, as the Prince was embarking his Cavalry, the News reached him of *Beck's* March to obviate his Design. Convinced of the Hazard of

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of this Attempt to land his Troops on a Shore, where an Enemy of that Force would be prepared to receive them, he therefore changed his Measures immediately, and marched back for *Maldegheem*, in order to contribute, if possible, at least to the Operations of the *French* Troops.

The Prince was no sooner come back to his old Quarters, but he heard, to his great Concern, that the *French* had contented themselves with the taking of *Bourbourg*, since the Conquest of *Mardyke*, and that the Duke of *Orleans* was returned to *Paris*, leaving his Army to ravage and plunder *Flanders* at Will, which seemed the only End of their coming thither. His Highness upon this returned with all Speed to *Eckelo*, mediating some other Enterprize, where an Express arrived, dispatched by the Marshals *Gassion* and *Rantzau*, to let him know, they had narrowly missed the Duke of *Lorain*, between *Bruges* and *Ghent*, that the said Duke had been forced to a precipitate Retreat; and that if they could be of any Service to his Highness, they desired to hear from him forthwith. The Prince accordingly returned them his Thanks on the Instant by *M. Beverweert*, and *d'Estrades*, assuring them, that he desired nothing more earnestly, than to concert Measures with them for their mutual Advantage; and that he should be glad of an Interview with them, when and where they saw most convenient. They returned the
Prince

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Prince his Compliment, giving him to understand the Impossibility of continuing where they were for want of Baggage and Provision, and named *Marickirke*, within a Quarter of a League of *Ghent*, for the Place of Rendezvous.

The next Day both Parties met at the appointed Village, where, after a short Conference, they came to this Agreement, That the Marshals should return, and march with their Army to *Menain*, where they had left their Waggon; from whence they should proceed up the *Lys* to *Deynse*, near which Place the Prince would meet them with all his Force, and then they should deliberate upon what Course was proper to be taken.

After the Conference at *Marickirke*, in order to persuade the *Spaniards* that no Union of the Armies was intended, the Prince marched back to *Lovendeghem*, upon the Canal between *Bruges* and *Ghent*, sending away all his heavy Baggage towards *Sas*, which confirmed them in the Belief, that his Army was breaking up for good and all. Great was their Surprise, however, next Day, when they saw him repass the Canal and take the Route to *Deynse*, where the *French* arrived soon after; the two Armies encamping within half a League of each other.

In pursuance to the Measures concerted there by the Prince and the Marshals, both Armies crossed the *Lys* the next Day, and advanced towards

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wards the *Little Scheld*, to the mighty Astonishment and Terror of the Country ; the Duke of *Lorain*, *Beck*, and *Picolomini* hastening to *Ghent* with all Expedition, to put a Stop to their Progress. And then it was, that the Prince proposed the investing *Antwerp* with his own Troops to the Marshals, if they would only keep the Enemy in Play five or six Days ; but those Generals excused themselves, on the Account of their Conquests upon the *Lys*, which would lye too much exposed, as they pretended, if their Troops absented themselves longer ; they offered, indeed, to accompany, or cover him, at least, till he had passed the *Great Scheld*, whereupon, finding his Reasons ineffectual, he left the Marshals to pursue the Measures they saw best, and march'd with his own Army directly for the *Great Scheld*, to force a Passage, if possible, into the Country of *Waas*, where he was determined to lay Siege to *Hulst*.

Having imparted this to the Marshal, and to his Officers, the Prince broke up about Midnight, bending his March directly for a Village called *Melle*, between the *Little* and the *Great Scheld*, where he arrived two Hours after Sunrise ; and going to reconnoitre the Passes of the River, he found the opposite Side well lined with the Enemy's Foot, who were pouring in continually from *Ghent*, and observed, moreover, a Body of Horse rang'd in Battle, ready to dispute him the Passage. The Prince, upon
this

this, lines his Side of the River with the Choice of his Musqueteers, behind a little Retrenchment he caused to be thrown up; and making a terrible Fire, both with great and small Shot; for his Batteries were by this Time advantageously planted, dislodges the Enemy by little and little, till at length the Coast being quite clear, and *Beck* himself, as he heard afterwards, slightly wounded, under the Fire of his Cannon; he threw the Pontoons over with all ease, and was already beginning to make the Troops file off, when the two Marshals came to pay him their Compliments and take their Leaves: He returned them many Thanks for the Service they had rendered him (which was a Trifle in reality to what they might have done) and so soon as he had gained this great Point, made the best of his Way for the *Durme*, another large and deep River, pretty distant from where the *Schelde* had been passed, in order to get over it before the Enemy could possess themselves of the Avenues. The Troops were now so fatigued, that it being impossible for them to reach *Loqueren* that Night, a Village situate upon the *Durme*, as the Prince proposed, they were forced to halt half way, while all he could do was to send a Lieutenant General before with most of the Horse, and twelve Hundred of the ablest Musqueteers to seize the Bridge, and secure the Passage. The Prince in the mean while cheering up his Troops with his usual affable Manner,

ner, they pursued their March, after a short Refreshment, and not without much Difficulty reached *Lonqueren* by Nine next Morning.

Having got a great way the Start of the Enemy by this surprising March, he allowed the Troops an Halt of some Hours, and then advanced with them to *Steecken*, a large Village two Leagues from *Hulst*, where taking up his Quarters that Night, he was informed, that *Hulst* had been reinforced, the Day before, by three Regiments, insomuch that there were now, by that Addition, upwards of 3000 Men in Garison, under the Command of M. *Henin*, an Officer of great Experience, who lying *a-Couvert* moreover, by Works upon Works, and double Fossés, the one an hundred, and the other an hundred and fifty Foot broad, besides the natural Situation of the Place at the *Embouchure* of a *Peninsula*, and being amply stored with all Necessaries, was not likely to part with it upon easy Terms.

From *Steecken*, having been himself to reconnoitre the Ground about the Place, he gave Orders to M. *Brederode*, and Prince *Talmont*, to invest it; the former with Seventy Companies of Foot, and the latter with twenty Squadrons of Horse. The Prince himself, with the main of the Forces encamped, in order to cover the Besiegers at *Terkirken*, on the Canal between *Hulst* and the *Schelde*; where, the better
to

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to secure himself, he seized upon Fort *Spinola*, and a Post or two more of less Importance.

The Army had scarce invested *Hulst*, when *Beck*, and the Duke of *Lorain*, crossed the *Scheld* to *Antwerp* with their united Troops; but finding Things in so good a Posture on the Prince's Side, thought it adviseable to let him alone, and entrenched themselves, no less strongly on their Parts, between the two Forts of *Zwindericht* and *Borcht*, having *Antwerp* in their Rear.

The Prince of *Orange*, far from being discouraged by the Neighbourhood of those great Generals, resolved, without Loss of Time, to open the Trenches, and make his Approaches. This was done from two several Attacks at once with extreme Fury, the Besieged giving equal Proofs of their Valour, on their Part, till some of their Cannon, by which the Assailants were most annoy'd, happened to be dismounted from the Prince's Batteries, and Colonel *Killpatrick*, a *Scotchman*, successfully threw a Bridge over the Fosse, by which Means he made a Lodgment upon the Counterscarp, an Hour before Day, tho' not without considerable Loss on the Side of the Besiegers. The innermost Fosse, the broadest of the two, was still to be passed over before the Ramparts could be reached; and the Gallery was already begun, when, just as the Prince was entering with some Officers to survey

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the

the Work, a Bomb from the Town shattered it to Pieces, killing and wounding all within Reach of it, his Highness himself escaping very narrowly. The ill Success of this Gallery put the Prince upon another Expedient, which was to propose the filling of the Fossé with Fascines. This desperate Piece of Service was undertaken by twenty resolute Fellows, for a considerable Reward, and so effectually did they set their Hands to it, that the Fossé was filled in one Night sufficiently for the Purpose; on the Sight of which, when the Prince returned to the Trenches in the Morning, he was pleased to embrace the Head-Manager of the Work, and almost to double the Reward he had promised.

The Gallery, on M. *Brederode's* Attack, having been finished much about the same Time, it was resolved to storm two Bastions at once; but this Enterprize succeeded on the Fascine Way only, where, after an obstinate Resistance, a Lodgment was made upon the Angle of the Rampart, which threw the Enemy into such a Consternation, that they beat a Chamade, just as the Prince was arrived in the Trenches. Hostages were forthwith exchanged, and the agreeing to, and signing the Articles, having taken up little Time, the Garrison marched out upon honourable Terms the next Day, in the same Manner as that of *Sas* had done the Year before, and were escorted to the *Spanish* Camp.

Thus

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Thus fell into the Hands of the States, the strong Fortrefs of *Hulst*, the Key of *Antwerp*, and the Country of *Waas*; by being Masters of which, they could lay all that Part of *Flanders*, as far as *Dendermond* and *Ghent*, under Contribution.

The Prince concluded this glorious Campaign with taking the *Moërspuy*, a little Fort of great Strength, within three Leagues of *Hulst*; which having held out ten or twelve Days, surrendered at last to Count *William* of *Nassau-Brizeland*, who was sent on that Expedition. This Affair being over, and a sufficient Force left to secure the new Conquests, he broke up with the Army, and embarked at Fort *St. Anne's*, sending the Troops to their respective Garrisons, on his Arrival at *Bergen*; from thence he continued his Route to the *Hague*, received with universal Acclamations where-ever he passed, and arrived there just time enough to wish the Deputies of the States a good Journey to *Munster*, the Rendezvous of the Plenipotentiaries for General Peace; where they were to have, for the first Time, the Title of Excellencies given them, and to be treated upon the same Footing with the Ambassadors of *Venice*; a Condition the *Spaniards* themselves were forced to come in to, and which was in a great Measure owing to the immortal Services of *Henry Frederick* Prince of *Orange*.

It cannot be doubted but that a Period, put by Treaty, to a War * which was in so fair a Way of heaping new Laurels upon this glorious Hero, must needs be a sensible Grief to him, at a Time when his Passage to the very Gates of *Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent*, had nothing to obstruct it any longer: And it is equally certain, that the Enemies of his Family, and of his Virtues, in the Assembly of the States, labour'd their utmost to forward a Peace, tho' impartial People will think, that the *United Provinces* might have tried the Fortune of one or two Summers more, at least, before they sheathed up the Sword. The Inconstancy of their *French* Allies, who, indeed, as we have seen by frequent Examples, were little to be depended upon, in the Course of this War, ever leaving the Prince when he had most Occasion for them, is their only justifiable Plea; but yet would they have strenuously exerted themselves, the Crown of *France* would have found its own Account so much in continuing the War (especially when Occupation seem'd to be wanting, for those factious Spirits that gave *Mazarine* such Uneasiness) that their coming readily into it, is a Point almost out of Question.

An unactive Life was what the Prince was so little us'd to, that this, and some Chagrin together

* The Prince did not live to see the End of it, for he died in *March, 1647*, and the Peace was concluded in 1648.

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gether, added to a Constitution much impaired by Fatigue, carried him off in little more than a Year after the Treaty of *Munster* was on Foot, being then aged about Sixty-four, to the unspeakable Regret of his Friends, Family and Country, which last he had governed as Stadtholder during 22 Years: He was buried with a Magnificence suitable to his Merits; leaving behind him, by *Amelia de Solms* his Princess, and Survivor, four Daughters, all married into illustrious Houses, and one only Son, *William*, Successor to his Titles and Estates, born in 1626, who died within two Years after his Father; neither the Shortness of his Life, nor the Situation of Affairs, giving him an Opportunity of farther exerting that Courage, of which he had shewn such early Proofs. It was he that was Father to the glorious *William* of *Nassau*, third Prince of *Orange* of that Name, afterwards King of *Great Britain*, by the Princess *Mary*, Daughter, as above-mentioned, to King *Charles I.*

Frederick William was a most comely, well proportioned Prince, of great Strength of Body, as well as Mind; and among the rest of his Virtues, so extreme liberal withal, that the Personal Estates he left behind, were in no Respect answerable to the Revenues his great Offices had brought him in, over and above so large a Patrimony as that of his own. He supplied *Charles I.* with great Sums at several Times, and sent him over many brave Volunteers and Officers; by which the

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the Prince might lose Ground, very possibly, in the Affections of many of the *Hollanders*, who inclined rather to the Republican Interest. Be that as it will, they owed him, under God, all those Blessings that his illustrious Grandson maintained to them afterwards, and which it is their own Fault if they do not enjoy to Perpetuity; 'for tho' *William I.* and *Maurice* had laid the Foundation of the Liberties of the *United Provinces*, it was *Henry Frederick* that finished the Work, by reducing *Spain* to the Necessity of absolutely renouncing all her Right to them.

It may not be amiss, before we go on farther, to throw in a short Paragraph, with Regard to *Louisa de Coligni*, Mother to the Great Man whose Actions have been the Subject of the last Pages; as she was a Person justly distinguished from all her Contemporaries of that Sex, by Qualifications that entitled her to a Consort who comes in Parallel with the most eminent Patriots of Antiquity: The Author*, to whom we are indebted for this Account of her, seems to have given it in the most impartial Manner, notwithstanding that he thought differently from her in Religious Matters, which generally carries a great Sway with those of the *Romish* Persuasion; I shall deliver it, as near as I can, in his own Words.

“ This Lady (he says) was possessed of
“ great and singular Virtues, unallay'd (as was
observable

• *M. Du Maurier.*

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“ observable throughout the whole Course of
“ a long Life) by any of those Frailties and
“ Passions to which her Sex is so liable. As the
“ Admiral, her Father, had a particular
“ Esteem for her, upon the Account of a Re-
“ serve and Prudence of Behaviour, not very
“ usual in those Times, among Ladies of
“ her Age and Condition, so was she the Admi-
“ ration of all that knew her, by her strong
“ Reasoning, her heroick Sentiments, and
“ above all, by a Sweetness of Deportment,
“ and Sense of Humanity not to be expressed :
“ The Beauty of her Person enhanced, not a
“ little, the Value of these rare inward Endow-
“ ments ; for’tho’ her Stature was rather of the
“ lowest, yet was she altogether little inferior
“ to the greatest Beauties of her Time.

“ The great Admiral Coligni, her Father,
“ thought he could not give this excellent
“ Daughter, a greater Proof of his Paternal
“ Love, than by matching her with the most
“ accomplished M. de Teligni (Son to one of
“ the bravest Generals *France* ever produced)
“ a Man so universally esteemed and beloved,
“ that even as cruel a Bigot as *Queen Catherine*
“ of *Medici* was, and as much as she hated the
“ Admiral himself, she could hardly be pre-
“ vailed upon, no more than her Son *Charles*
“ IX, to consent to the including him in that
“ horrible and general Massacre of the Pro-
“ testants in 1572. *Louisa* received, with
“ the

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“ the Resignation of a Christian, and the Forti-
 “ tude of an Heroine, in one and the same Hour,
 “ the Heart-piercing Account of the tragical
 “ End of an Husband and a Father, for whom
 “ she had the tenderest Affection; and escap-
 “ ing, almost miraculously, out of the Hands
 “ of the savage Blood-hounds that were in
 “ Search of her, at her Lord’s Estate in *Bur-*
 “ *gundy*, along with her Mother and Brother,
 “ she reached *Swisserland* at last, with much
 “ ado, and having continued in her State of
 “ Widowhood many Years, eminent for her
 “ Piety and Virtues, was taken into Marriage
 “ by *William I*, Prince of *Orange*, after the
 “ Death of his third Wife *Charlotte* of *Bour-*
 “ *bon*. To that Hero she bore an only
 “ Son, *Henry Frederick*, but a little before
 “ it pleased Providence to add to her for-
 “ mer Afflictions, the severest Stroke of all,
 “ in the Loss of the dearest of Husbands, who
 “ was butchered before her Eyes.



WILLIAM

WILLIAM III. of NAS-
SAU, Prince of ORANGE,
King of ENGLAND,
&c.

PRINCE WILLIAM, above-men-
tion'd, had not been dead many Days
when the Princess, his Widow, was
brought to bed of a Son, November
4th, O. S. 1650; whose Life there was for
some Time very little likelihood of; and
his surprizing Recovery was an early Prognos-
tick of those glorious Purposes for which Pro-
vidence intended him.

From the apparent Ebb of Credit and
Power in the House of Orange, with a
sickly Infant at the Head of it, its Enemies
began to conceive Hopes that they should re-
duce it to an Impossibility of ever retrieving
its Affairs, laying hold more particularly of
the late Prince's suppos'd Design against the
Liberties of the Province of *Holland*: Pursu-
ant to which Scheme, in an Assembly of the
N States

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States-General, held three Months after the Child's Birth, it was Resolv'd to put a Period to the Great Offices of Stadtholder and Captain-General, with which that Family had been vested, during the Lives of four successive Princes; and in Token of this Decree, there was struck a remarkable Medal by the Province of *Zeeland*, hinting plainly at the perpetual Suppression of these Important Posts. The young Prince was not without Friends nevertheless at the same time, as appear'd evidently in the cool Reception given at the *Hague* to the Deputies from the Parliament of *England*, avow'd Enemies to the *Orange* Interest; to which coolness were chiefly ascrib'd the ensuing Jars between both Nations; and of the Cause of this Opposition to his Measures, deriving its Rise from the Prince's Party, *Cromwell* himself was so sensible, that upon the Conclusion of the *Dutch* War in 1654, it was an Article expressly insisted upon by him, that the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* should for ever exclude the Prince of *Orange*, his Descendants, or Family, from the above-mention'd Offices and Dignities.

Some of the other Provinces indeed, that retain'd a juster Sense of the vast Obligations the Publick ow'd to the Illustrious House we are Speaking of, objected vehemently to

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to unworthy a Stipulation, in direct Breach of the *Utrecht-Union*; but being born down by the Tide of Superior Strength, were compell'd to drop their Expostulations; and the States-General, as the first Proof of their having resum'd the Reins entirely into their own Hands, immediately proceeded to Disband the Troops, in Contempt of a Fundamental Maxim the Princes of *Orange* had establish'd (pretending themselves in full Security from the Treaty of *Munster*;) and the foreign Ones, more particularly, as quite an unnecessary Burthen upon the Provinces; the fatal Consequence of which Dismission, many of the Promoters of it liv'd heartily to repent some Years after, as shall be seen in its due Place.

The Prince's Well-wishers compell'd to acquiesce under this violent Party Spirit, center'd in the mean time all their Hopes in the Promises the Child daily gave of those Accomplishments that shone out so conspicuously in his maturer Years; and at ten Years of Age having the Misfortune to lose the Princess his Mother, who died in *England* of the Small-Pox, during the Visit she made her newly restor'd Brother *Charles II.* He was taken into the Care of his excellent Grandmother the Princess *Amelia*, who discharg'd this great Trust with an Application becoming the Relief of the immor-

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tal *Henry Frederick*, notwithstanding the Endeavours us'd by many to take him out of her Hands, which, as my Lord *Arlington* observes, were entirely Disaprov'd by the Court of *England*.

The same Year in which the Prince lost his Royal Mother, depriv'd him likewise by a notorious Injustice of his Dominion of *Orange*, seiz'd by *Lewis XIV.* It was indeed restor'd to him five Years after, but terribly deform'd as well as weaken'd, by the Dismantling of Fort *Maurice*, one of the strongest Citadels by Art as well as Nature, in all *Europe*; and this was the third or fourth Usurpation of the Kind made by the Kings of *France*, who as Counts of *Provence*, ever pretended the said Princes to be no more than their Feudataries.

Notwithstanding the seeming Regard paid by *Charles II.* to his young Nephew's Interest; the Prince appears to have been extremely neglected in the Peace of *Breda*,† concluded between

† That War lasted, somewhat above two Years, having commenc'd in 1665: then Prince *Rupert*, Brother to her Royal Highness the late Princess *Sophia*, commanded some time the *English* Navy as High Admiral. The *Swedes* were Mediators of the Treaty. The Beginning of the War was owing entirely to the Politics of *France*, who had a Mind the two Maritime Powers should ruin each other.

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tween his Majesty and *Holland*, in 1667; and to this Neglect we may impute the famous Perpetual Edict of the same Year, in which the Provinces of *Holland* and *West-Friesland* resolv'd once more in the most solemn Manner, against reviving the Office of Stadtholder, exhorting the rest of the Provinces to concur unanimously in maintaining that Suppression; making it moreover, one of the Conditions preliminary to the Nomination of any Person whatever for the Command of their Land and Maritime Forces for the Time to come, that the Captain General and High Admiral so chosen, should renounce, by a solemn Oath, the said Dignity of Stadtholder, though tender'd him by all, or any of the Provinces themselves.

As the Tenour of this Edict seem'd so particularly Injurious to a Prince of the Blood of *England*, it was not possible for his Highness's Friends at that Court to pass it over in silence, which awaken'd the King at last into a Shew of Resentment, and therefore he thought fit to remonstrate the Hardship by an express Ambassy to the States, the Result of which was (as we find by my Lord *Arlington's* Letter to Sir *William Temple*) notwithstanding the friendly Reception the said Ministers met with from the Pensionary *De Wit* and the States, that the Prince was warn'd out of his Palace

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at the *Hague* by the Pensionary himself, to demonstrate how little a Stress was laid upon his Majesty's Representations.

The young Prince's greatness of Soul, distinguish'd itself upon this Occasion in the following remarkable Manner. The House which he, like his Predecessors, resided in, was indeed properly the States, and annex'd to the Office of Stadtholdership; but as from Prescription, time out of mind, he might with justice assert a Kind of Right to it, and tho' but eighteen Years old, could not be blind to the Affront meant him in a Message of that Nature, deliver'd to him moreover by his mortal Enemy, Heir to all the Inveteracy of the *Barneveldt* Faction; he answer'd *DeWit* with a Gravity and Boldness becoming the Head of such a Family, " That as he, his Father, Grandfather, Great Uncle, and Great Grandfather, had all liv'd in the House unmolested, he could not but leave it with Reluctancy; and that therefore he, the Pensionary, might acquaint those who sent him, that if they needs would have it, they must force him out." The States having this Report made to them, thought fit to let the Matter die, and not expose themselves to the Consequences of a second Repulse.

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The artful Pensionary who was underhand obstructing the Prince's Interest to the utmost of his Power, affected to cover his Enmity with all the gilded Exteriors of the utmost Zeal and Attachment, as appears from the several Conferences between Sir *William Temple*, Ambassador from *England*, and him; seeming to have nothing more at heart than his Highness's Promotion to the Rank of Captain General; nay, he was almost daily giving him private Instructions, as well with Regard to his Domestick Affairs, as to those of the State, with a Diffimulation nothing short of *Richard Duke of Gloucester's* (for so far the Parallel will hold) who was reading Lessons of Government to his Nephew *Edward IV.* at the very time that he was Projecting his Murther.

Not to enter upon a Repetition of all that pass'd between the Ambassador and the Pensionary, upon two Subjects which had perhaps as little Reality in them the one as the other; I mean the King's cordial Affection for the States, and the Pensionary's sincere Attachment to the Interests of the Prince; I shall only observe, that the Prince's true Friends not suffering themselves to be seduc'd by Appearances, lay watching all Occasions in the mean time to advance his Highness's Credit and Authority, in an unexceptionable Manner; and the

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the first Step he took in Pursuance to their Advice, was a Journey to *Middleburg* in *Zeeland*, (under the Pretence of a sham one to *Breda*;) where being arriv'd, as was before concerted, just as the States were assembled, he claimed the Prerogative of his Ancestors to be admitted into that Body as first Noble of the Province, being arriv'd at the proper Age for the said Reception; and whether he surpriz'd them into it or not, his Demand was immediately comply'd withal; nor is it in the least questioned, had it been prudent to push Matters farther, but he would with as little Difficulty have been elected their Stadtholder.

This *Coup de Maitre* in so young a Man, occasion'd various Speculations, some ascribing it to his Grandmother's, some to M. *Odyke's*, and others again to Sir *William Temple's* Councils; but be that as it may, certain it is, that 'twas a mortifying Surprize to his Enemies, among whom not even *De Wit* with all the Diffimulation he was Master of, could help expressing in his Conference with Sir *William*, how deeply he resented it, and what Apprehensions he lay under that *Zeeland* would proceed upon this to declare him their Stadtholder.

This commendable Stratagem having pav'd his Highness a Way into the Assembly of the States, it was not long before he rose a Step yet nearer

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to the Honours of his Ancestors, by his Admission into the Council of State, while his Elevation affected the *Hollanders* very differently, in proportion to the Love or the Hatred they bore his Person and Family. Seeing this unexpected good Turn in his Affairs, it was not therefore without some Difficulty that he was prevail'd upon by his Friends to pay his Royal Uncle a Visit, in order to Recover some Dues from the Crown, as well upon the Score of Money lent by Prince *Henry Frederick* to his Majesty's Father, as we have above hinted, as to Claim the yet unpaid Remainder of the Princess his Mother's Dowry. These at least were the Pretences for the Prince of *Orange's* crossing the Channel, tho' Motives of greater Importance may not impossibly have been at the Bottom of it.

The *English* Voyage having been often delay'd by unexpected Impediments, at last his Highness arriv'd at *Whitehall* on the 30th of *October*, 1670, to the Satisfaction of his Majesty and the whole Court, being entertain'd as became a Grandson of *England* many Days, and without entring into the Question whether he succeeded in his Negotiations or not; we shall only observe that after having been regal'd by all the Nobility, twice done the Magistracy of the City the Honour to Dine with them,

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them, and visited the University of Oxford, He re-embark'd for *Helvoetsluis* on the 30th of February following, just on the Eve, as it were, of a Conjunction that open'd the Eyes of the *Hollanders*, and convinc'd them of the Blunder they had been seduc'd into, by taking the Reins of the Administration out of the Hands of a Family, which alone, under God, could preserve them from Ruin.

The States General, who having compos'd their Differences with *England* and *Sweden*, lay under no Apprehension from any Quarter whatever, saw themselves, to their mighty Astonishment, threatned by a Storm on a sudden, that they were no ways Guarded against, from a Power they had ever been hitherto in Alliance † with, to which they had been of no small Service, without any just Provocation, and this at a Time when they had scarce any Troops, pursuant to the ruinous Maxims of the *Anti-Orangian* Faction, and when those few they

† After the Conclusion of the Peace of *Breda* in 1667, as *Lewis XIV.* was making a vast Progress in the *Spanish Netherlands* (where his Men had newly taken *Lisfr*, *Douai*, and many other Towns, under Pretence of a Claim in Vertue of his Wife, tho' he had renounc'd it in the *Pyrenean Treaty*) *England*, *Sweden*, and the States General enter'd into an Alliance for the Conservation of the *Spanish Low Countries*, but nevertheless there was no actual Declaration of War against *France*.

could

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could not be without in their Garrison-Towns, were raw and undisciplin'd for the most part, headed by the Sons or Kinsmen of Burgomasters, who look'd upon their Commissions as convenient Sinecures, without in the least dreaming of the Danger that might counterballance the Profit, should their Country once come to be seriously attack'd.

It was for this Reason, that when the *French* proceeded in good Earnest (in Consequence of their new Alliance with † *England*) to an open Rupture with the States, the Frontier Towns beat Parleys, many of them the Moment the Enemy came in fight; insomuch that *Guelderland*, *Overyssel*, and *Utrecht* were lost before any Provision could be made for the Security of the four Remaining Provinces, and even then the only Expedient left to stop this Torrent of ill Fortune was, of all Remedies the

† The *French* had a Grudge of four and twenty Years standing against the *United Provinces*, because these last had clap'd up a separate Peace with the *Spaniards* at *Munster*, but what offended them most was the above-mentioned *Triple Alliance*. They artfully detach'd *England* at last from the *Triple Alliance*, and it was agreed, that that Power should Attack the States by Sea, while *France* over-ran them by Land.

very

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very one the Majority of them dreaded, equally almost with the Evil itself, I mean, a Request to the Prince that he would accept of the Post of Captain-General.

The Demonstrations of the Peoples Partiality for the House of *Orange*, were universal upon this Invasion of *France*, and carry'd to an Heighth of Fury that threaten'd with Destruction every Member of the State in the Opposite Interest; this contributed to rivet the Princes's Interest more and more; the Peasants refusing to take Arms in Defence of their Country, unless it were made part of their Oath to be true to his Highness, as well as to the Republick; and no sooner was he vested with the Supreme Command, but the surprizing Turn which he gave to Affairs, by the bold Stand at *Nieukop*, (a Post the *French*, with all their Numbers, could not force him to quit) convinc'd the *Hollanders* how little they were beholden to those pretended Patriots, that were bent upon excluding a Youth of that wondrous Capacity from any Share in their Government, either Civil or Military.

With so small a Body of Troops, however, the Prince being unable to act Offensively, and the *French* enlarging their Conquests every
Day,

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Day, the Murmurs of the People, a little quieted by his Highness's Promotion, began to revive in all Parts of the Provinces. The first barefac'd Tumult was at *Dort*, where the Ringleader of the Mutineers was deputed from them, to enquire of the Magistrates if they had the Defence of their Town at Heart really, or not: The Answer being made in the Affirmative, the next Demand made of them, was to see what Condition the Magazines were in; but here, as the Keys were not readily to be found, the People became quite Outrageous, crying out one and all, that there was treacherous Management in the Case, and therefore they were determined to have the Prince of *Orange* for Stadtholder. Whether any of his Highness's Friends among the Nobility had set this Machine in Motion, we cannot be certain; but be the Case as it may, this Insurrection of *Dort* wrought so effectually upon the Magistrates, that a Deputation was immediately dispatch'd to his Highness, to acquaint him in Terms of the greatest Respect, that his Presence being absolutely necessary towards quieting the Multitude, they desir'd he would repair thither with all Expedition.

Notwithstanding that the Prince represented to the Commissioners what ill Consequences might attend his leaving the Camp, their Fears

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if they came back without him rendered them nevertheless so importunate, that he yielded to their intreaties at last, and accompany'd them to *Dort*. Being arrived, after they had seated him in a Chair of State in the Town-Hall, which was splendidly hung upon the Occasion, his Highness was desired to signify his Pleasure to them. The Prince wisely reply'd, it was their Part to make Proposals, as they had sent for him; to which as they returned for answer (waving the main Point,) That he was requested for the publick Satisfaction to visit their Works and Magazines, the Prince graciously gave his Consent, and made the whole Tour of the Town. The People who had been amus'd with the Hopes that he was to be nominated Stadtholder, on his return from the Survey abovementioned, observing no symptoms of such a Promotion, throng'd about him by Thousands, boldly demanding of him, but with all the respect due to his Person, whether the Magistrates had conferr'd that high Office upon his Highness or No. The Prince, having modestly made Answer, that he was perfectly satisfy'd for his Part, with the Dignities already bestowed upon Him, They throng'd about his Coach, roaring out louder than ever that till the
Prince

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Prince of *Orange* was appointed Stadtholder, they had resolv'd not to lay down their Arms; insomuch, that the Magistrates, surrounded with all the Terrors that can be supposed to accompany a Circumstance of that Nature, were forc'd to counterfeit a ready Compliance, and an Instrument was immediately drawn up for abolishing the perpetual Edict, which Instrument however, his Highness pay'd no regard to at all, till such Time as he was fully discharg'd from the renouncing Oath he had taken, When the States lately appointed him Captain General.

An Act to that Effect being therefore consented to by all (but the unfortunate *Cornellius de Wit*,) whom neither for fear nor persuasion could bring to sign the Instrument, and read aloud by the Secretary in the Town-Hall, they declar'd the Prince *ipso facto* Stadtholder in as ample a manner as any of his Predecessors had been; which Elevation was followed by all possible Marks of Joy in the People, and as *Dort* was one of the leading Cities of the Provinces, the Prince met with no Opposition; either in *Holland*, *Zeeland*, or *West-Frisland*. The Step these respective States had taken, was immediately confirm'd in a grand Assembly of all of them together; and he was put in Possession of the

the general Stadtholdership, with all the Rights, Jurisdictions, and Privileges formerly enjoy'd by his Ancestors. After the usual Ceremonies had been perform'd in the *Great-Hall* of Audience at the *Hague*; the new Stadtholder, Captain, and Admiral-General of the *United Provinces*, returned to the Camp; and to that degree, were the People inspir'd by his Elevation, that an handful of *Burghers* assisted only by Women, repuls'd the *French* Army from *Aerdenburg*, taking no less than 500 Prisoners; while *Groninguen* on the other hand baffled all the attacks of the Bishop of *Munster*, who was before at the Head of 30,000 Men, and a vast Train of Artillery. About this Time happened the tragical End of *John Dewit* the Grand Pensionary, and *Cornelius* his Brother, || (those strenuous opposers of the Prince's Promotion,) whose Vertues and Merits deserv'd a better Fate, tho' the former had given Proofs of an insincerity with regard to the Prince, misbecoming a Man in his Station, and the latter stands not quite

|| *Cornelius*, was accused by a Surgeon, of a Design to assassinate the Prince: and tho' the Circumstances were not evident enough to bring him to a Capital punishment, yet was the Prince's Interest so strong as to get him sentenc'd to a perpetual Exile: And the Pensionary himself being indiscreet enough to go with his own Coach to conduct him, they were both set upon by the Rabble, and torn to Pieces.

clear

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clear in the Opinion of the World, of a Conspiracy against his Highness's Person. Monsieur *Fagel*, was appointed Pensionary in *Dewit's* room, with the Prince's Approbation ; and now the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, seeing his Nephew at the Helm, which no body had wish'd for more ardently than himself, paid the States General a Compliment suitable to the Occasion, and gave them Assurances of his Protection and Assistance.

The vast Alteration produc'd by this Advancement of the Prince in the Domestick Measures of the Provinces, where Corruption, Treachery, and Cowardice now began to be punish'd and prosecuted according to their Deserts, occasion'd a like change very soon in the progress of the victorious *French*, who finding an unusual resistance from a Country they considered in a manner as their own, and meeting with daily Losses of one kind or other, grew slack in their attacks, diminish'd visibly in their Fire and Mettle, and convinc'd they had now a General to deal with who would dispute them every Inch of Ground, had recourse to the underhand Method of Decoys and Temptations, to bribe him if possible into a base Desertion of the Cause he had espoused, by the Promise of making him Sovereign of the *Low-Countries*, under
 O the

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the Protection of *England* and *France*. The Manner in which his Highness receiv'd this abject Proposal was worthy the Offspring of those Heros he descended from; for being ask'd by those Persons, whom he had assur'd of his steadyness in pursuing the Steps of his Ancestors, how he mean't to live when the *French* should be absolute Masters of all. *I will retire to my small German Patrimony*, he replied, and rather spend my Days there in Hunting like the privatest Gentleman, than purchase a Sovereignty at the scandalous Price of selling my Country. His Answer, if publick Fame may be credited, was much stronger yet to the Duke of Buckingham, who was sent by King Charles, joint Ambassador with the Earl of Arlington; and Lord Hallifax, to the *French* then at *Utrecht*; for when the Duke prest him upon this Head, in a private Conference, wondering what his Highness could propose to himself in so desperate a Case, since according to the Sentiment he was in, he must unavoidably see the final ruin of the Provinces. It is very true, my Lord, says the Prince, I am equally convinc'd with your Grace, of our bad Situation, but have yet one Expedient left which will prevent my being Eye-witness of their Desolation, at the worst, and that is to die upon the last Dyke.

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It was now the the End of the Year 1672, when the Prince who had been hitherto in no Condition to act offensively, unless it were by small Parties, having reinforc'd his Troops with all the Diligence he was capable of, resolv'd to attack *Woerden* near *Utrecht*, to which end he detach'd † M. *Zulestein*, and Count *Hornes* to go and invest the Place, while he himself encamp'd on the Side of *Bodegrave* with only four Regiments. They were already in a fair way of carrying the Place, when the Duke of *Luxemburg* fell unexpectedly with 9000 Men upon M. *Zulestein*, but was repuls'd with great loss: The Besiegers batter'd the Town in so furious a manner after this, that it was just upon the point of surrendering, when *Luxemburg*, returning with fresh Forces, through a difficult way which the Treachery of some Peasants discovered to him, renewed his attack with that Vigour, that *Zulestein's* Troops were cut to Pieces after a most desperate resistance, in which that gallant Man lost his Life, refusing Quarter that was offered. Count *Hornes* indeed regained the Post soon after, but as 3000 *French* had been pour'd into the Town in the mean while; the Prince was forc'd to

† Natural Son to Prince *Henry Frederick*, and Father to the late Earl of *Rochford*.

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raise the Siege, and having assembled a Council of War, resolv'd without loss of Time to recall the Cavalry which had been posted along the Coast during the Summer, to prevent a descent from *England*, and to march for *Brabant* directly. *Rosendaal* was the Place of their Rendezvous, where having found his Troops 24000 Strong, Horse and Foot, he proceeded from thence into the Principality of *Liege*, with the View of giving Battle to the Count of *Duras*, (which, the Time of Year considered, and the Force then in that Province, was a most adventurous Enterprize) who retired upon the Prince's approach; and that with such Expedition, shifting his Quarters every Day, that the Prince was never able to come up with him; the taking of *Walcheren* and *Binche*, were therefore the only Exploits his Highness had an Opportunity for; but he had the pleasure to alarm *Tongeren*, and some other strong Towns, as likewise to see himself there at the Head of a fine Confederate Army for the first Time, being not only join'd by the Troops of *Austria*, *Brandenburg*, and *Brunswick*, but even by the most inveterate Enemies of his House and of his Country, the *Spaniards* themselves, who were glad to lay hold of any Occasion to be reveng'd on the *French* for breaking the *Pyrenean Treaty*. All this was
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the Work of nine Days only, after which he return'd for the *Hague*, loaded with Booty, surrounded with Prisoners, and with the Credit moreover, of having forc'd to a precipitate Retreat, a fine Royal Army; with so experienc'd a General as *Duras* at the Head of it.

The Duke of *Luxemburg* who was at *Utrecht*, to pay the Prince in Kind and Revenge one Irruption by another, attempted in the depth of this *Winter*, as it was an extreme hard Frost, to Pass into the heart of *Holland*, where the Plunder of so many rich Towns flattered the Avarice of his Troops beyond Measure. But on his March towards *Leyden*, a sudden Rain had raised the Waters to such a height, that all but 3500 Men were forc'd to return to *Naerden*; and of those who got through not one had escaped but for the Cowardice of a *Dutch* Colonel who quitted his Post. The Prince hastened on the first News of this Expedition to the Relief of the Towns which the Danger threatned, and found the People in a general Panick, but dispell'd their fears immediately by his Presence, restoring Tranquility every where. *Luxemburg* himself, who had narrowly escaped drowning by a fall from his Horse in the new dissolved Ice, ruined the *French* Interest more
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by the Barbarities he suffered his People to commit, at *Swammerdam* particularly, than he could have done by the loss of all the Forces under his Command: The *Dutch* on the other Hand, to make themselves amends, surpris'd *Coeverden*, the Key of *Friseland* and *Groningen*, which had kept the Bishop of *Munster* in play as many Weeks almost, as they were Minutes in taking it again. The Prince of *Orange*, tho' not there in Person, received the Praises due to him, as well on this Account, as for *Luxemburg's* retreat; for he was the Life, and Spirit of the Cause, and the Turn Affairs had taken, during the few Months already elapsed since he had been vested with the *Stadtboldership*, was more than sufficient to convince a People to whom he was so dear on other Accounts; that his want of that Power must have been the Ruin of their Liberty.

Having laid hold of the Opportunity the short Cessation of Hostilities gave him, while the Troops on both Sides were in Winter Quarters, to compose some Intestine Divisions in *Friseland* and *Zeeland*, (where the good Effect of his Personal Appearance was very observable) as likewise to put the Towns in the best Posture of Defence; he now began to make proper Dispositions for warding the Blow that *France* and *England* were jointly

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ly aiming at his Country, the one with a Land, and the other with a Naval Force.

The Situation of Affairs could not be more perplexing than at this Juncture, for he found himself threatned with a Descent on the *Dutch Coast* on the one Hand ; † and on the other in hourly Expectation of an Attack from *Condé* and *Luxemburg*, who were actually at *Utrecht* ; with a Storm hanging over him at the same Time from a third Corner, I mean *Lewis XIV.* who was marching in Person at the Head of 40000 Men to attack *Mastricht*.

As upon mature Deliberation the Prince was sensible however that the publick Safety required his absolute Presence in *Holland*, he resolv'd to leave the rest, under Providence, to the Bravery of the Garison at *Mastricht*, which consisted of 5000 Horse and Foot, commanded by *Farjaux*, an Officer of great Conduct and Bravery ; and to continue where he

† The *English* had two Designs, that had they taken Effect must have produc'd very bad Consequences for *Holland* ; the first was the intended Descent at *Scheveling* which was prevented by an irregular Ebb of the Sea ; which gave *de Ruiter* Time to come to their Assistance. The Second was my Lord *Ossory's* Design upon *Helvoetsluis*, reveal'd and defeated by the Duke of *Buckingham* who was his mortal Enemy.

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was, the better to have an Eye on what was of the greatest Importance, the Preservation of the principal Province belonging to the States.

The Governor of *Mastricht* having performed all that could be expected from a gallant Man, after three Weeks open Trenches, during which the Besiegers lost near 10000 Men, his Garrison being much weakned by the daily Assaults, and incessant Fires from the *French* Batteries, hopeless of Relief, was forced to capitulate, tho' upon most honourable Conditions, of which the Prince's promoting him to the Rank of Major General was an evident Proof. The King of *France* who had paid so dear for this Conquest, thinking there was enough done for the Summer, left the *Netherlands* after this, causing *Tongres* to be dismantled, and divided his Army into three Bodies: One he sent to reinforce *Turrenne*, a Second to ravage the Bishoprick of *Liege*, and punish the Prince of it for siding with the Emperor; but the Third and smallest was detached to join the Duke of *Luxemburg*. The Prince delivered by this Means from any present Apprehensions on the *Brabant* Side, and fearing no Danger from the Maritime Parts, since the *English* Fleet had abandoned the Coast, resolv'd now to shew himself and act
Offen.

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Offensively if possible, which Design he put in Execution with that Secrecy and Vigour, that he had already invested *Naerden*, from whence the City of *Amsterdam* was continually in danger) before *Luxemburg* had the least Notice of his March. This General advanc'd indeed almost within Cannon Shot of the Prince's Works, but so strongly did he find him intrench'd, that not daring immediately to attempt the Relief of the Place, he saw it surrendered in a manner before his Eyes, to the eternal ignominy of the Commanding Officer, whose Poltroonery in giving up a Town of that Importance, without so much as one Sally, before he knew whether *Luxemburg* might not make an Effort to succour him, was deservedly punish'd with Prison for Life. His Highness who had expos'd his Person in the Trenches before *Naerden* even to a Fault, was now no less alert in securing his conquest, than he had been before in making it; and this was so good an Omen to the States, that they ordered Medals to be struck upon the Occasion, on the Devices of which the Prince received all those Marks of Honour that were so justly his due. As far advanc'd as the Season was he resolved not to stop the career of his Victories, and having join'd the *Imperial* and *Spanish* Forces in *Brabant*, where the Generals made him a Compliment of

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of the Command; he invested and took *Bonn*, (which capitulated, not so dishonourably however as *Naerden* had done) and then marching lower down along the *Rhine*, master'd other Places of less Consequence, while the Duke of *Lorraine* observ'd Marshal *Turenne*, (cutting off all Supplies by this means from the French Garisons along the *Rhine* and the *Iffel*) who ascrib'd these Misfortunes very justly to his want of early Intelligence with regard to the junction of the Confederate Forces.

The French flush'd with so many Successes but a few Months before, flattered with the Prospect of the Three yet unsubdu'd, wealthy Provinces, which they look'd upon as the Work at the utmost of another Campaign, now began in good Earnest to see into the vanity of their Hopes, finding a vast Disproportion between the Troops they had brought into the *Low-Countries*, and those that yet remained; and in lieu of thinking to extend their Conquests, were forc'd to an hasty Resignation of some of them, from the fear they had of losing more Places of equal Consequence with *Bonn*, upon the *Rhine*, the *Meuse*, and the *Moselle*, while such Confederate Armies were in a Condition of keeping the Field.

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In Consequence to this Resolution, a Multitude of Towns were immediately abandoned, tho not without great Sums of Money extorted from the Burghers, to prevent Military Execution, and among these was the City of *Utrecht* itself which had been their Head Quarters for almost two Years. They dismantled indeed some of the Places, and in others they broke their Promise with regard to the Indemnity they had sold to the Inhabitants; but it was a Thing in the Main of that Advantage to *Holland*, as made the People consider it in the same light, that their Ancestors had done their Deliverance from *Spain*: The Triumph now was no less Universal than the Distress had been some Time before; all rung with the illustrious Name of *Orange*, and Encomiums upon the young Prince, whose Valour and Conduct had produc'd this happy Turn of Affairs, and put him upon a Par at Four and Twenty with the Wisest and Bravest of his Predecessors, in the maturest Part of Life. We must not indeed omit one Circumstance here, which contributed in a great Measure to the saving of *Holland*, and that was, the *French* King's leaving his Army under the Direction of *Luxemburg*, a General that had no Regard to his Word, and always deceived the Towns, that confided in his Honour: Whereas

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Whereas, had *Turenne* been left there, a Person of the strictest Probity, those Conquests were in the fairest way imaginable of being secured him. It was this high degree of favour with the People, the Reward of such invaluable Services, that induc'd the States General in a full Assembly, by an Instrument drawn up with all therequisite Form, not only to confirm to his Highness the Offices he had been invested with the Year before, but likewise to settle them for ever on the Heirs Male his of Body, born in lawful Wedlock. In this famous Decree it was particularly set forth
 “ that the said States, convinc'd by sad Ex-
 “ perience of How absolute a Necessity it
 “ was for them (in order to put a Stop to
 “ civil Divisions, which never fail'd to open a
 “ Door to foreign Enemies,) to have a Cap-
 “ tain-General, and *Stadtbolder*; had conferr'd
 “ those High Posts on the Prince of *Orange*,
 “ as the only Person, who, from the Merits
 “ of his Ancestors and his own, was able to ce-
 “ ment firmly together, and that now to pre-
 “ vent heir falling into the like Miseries after
 “ his Death, they had come to a Resolution of
 “ rendering the said Offices Hereditary &c.”
 This Example, set by *Holland* and *Westfrise-land*, was followed the same Day by the Deputies of *Zeeland*; and the Prince being now
 vested

vested with a larger share of Power than any of his Predecessors, sat him seriously to Work to reform such abuses as, through the want of such an Inspector, had crept into the Civil Administration, beginning by *Utrecht*, where by a seasonable enquiry into the behaviour of the Nobles and Magistrates, he quickly made several vacancies, that were filled up with Men proof to *French* Gold, which had been but too manifestly the Scandalous inlet to the Troops of that Crown, into that flourishing City. These Alterations being done withall, and that Province put under a new Regulation, his Highness was receiv'd into the Hereditary-Stadtholdership of *Utrecht*, *nemine Contradicente* and in the same manner as he had been admitted into that of the Provinces above-mentioned.

Much about this Time the States General had Skill and good Fortune enough to detach *England* from the Confederacy with *France*, a Point laboured at long to no purpose, through the Artifices employed by that Crown, and now chiefly owing to the King's Want of Money for carrying on the War, and the obstinate Refusal of the Lower-House to supply him, as the majority there were but too sensible of the Inconveniencys that misunderstanding had been attended with in Regard to our maritime Affairs more especially. The States were not a little censured it is true, for not insisting

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insisting upon the King of *England's* reducing the *French* to the Terms of the Old Tripple alliance §; but the Prince of *Orange* imagined that if the first Point was carry'd, the second would be brought about without Difficulty. This separate Peace, which was no more than a Confirmation in a manner of the former treaty of *Breda*, (with this exception, that the States agreed to pay 2 or 300, 000 *l.* for the Charges of the War,) was signed at my Lord *Arlington's* Office by the King, who did it, as he himself confessed to † *Ruvigni* the *French* Ambassador, with the utmost Reluctancy; but his Differences with his Parliament rendered it indispensably Necessary, tho' neither the Manner in which the War had begun, nor that in which it was ended proved of any Credit to His Majesty abroad, or of any Advantage at home. *Ruvigni*, who was a very dexterous Minister, finding the Ill-Success of all his Oppositions to this Project, and foreseeing the Difficultys it would lay *France* under, immediately Solicited his Court to accept of *England's* mediation, which they did without any Delay, as repenting them heartily of the Terms they had insisted on; before the unexpected Turn which the last

§ concluded in 1667 between *England*, *Sweden* and the *United Provinces*, for restraining the exorbitant Power of *France* in the *Netherlands*.

† Father to the late Earl of *Galloway*.

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Campaign had given their Affairs, and the
rather as they saw *Spain*, the *Empire*, and *Brandenburg*, on the other Hand avowedly in
the Interest of the States, while they were
deserted on their part not by *England* alone,
but likewise by the Elector of *Cologne*, and
the Bishop of *Munster* their late faithfull Allies

The States Forces upon the Period of this
War with *England*, being able to Act more in
concert against the common Enemy, The
French upon the very first rumour of the Prin-
ces intending to take the Field, quitted the
whole Province of *Overysse*, not however with-
out raising great Contributions according to
custom.

The Obstacles that had retarded his High-
nesses journey were no sooner removed but he
joyned the Army then encampt at *Bergen-op-
zoom*, from whence he marched towards *Ma-
lines*, keeping near enough the Prince of *Conde*
to observe all his motions; and had not been
long in that posture before he saw himself
strengthen'd by a fine Body of Troops from
Spain and the *Empire* who had forced a Pas-
sage over the *Meuse* at *Dinant*. This noble op-
portunity of making a *Coup d' Eclat*, rendered
him deaf to all the Messages from King *Charles*,
who was doing his utmost, as Arbitr
in

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in the Affair, to bring about a speedy Peace and obuiate the doubtfull Event of a Battle, out of partiality to the *French* rather than to his Nephew and the States. It was in vain that Sir *William Temple* endeavoured to Speak with his Highness; The unsettled Situation the Prince was in, was still his excuse for avoiding a Conference; and thus, instead of waiting till he should be attacked, he became the aggressor himself, marching at the head of the Confederate Army to endeavour to dislodge *Condé* from the strong Post of *Nivelle*, and this it was that insensibly brought on one of the most celebrated Actions of the last Century, I mean the Battle of *Senef*.

Without entring into the particulars of an Engagement that has been the Subject of an hundred Pens, I shall only observe that as *Condé* had the advantage in the beginning, so the Prince of *Orange* carryed off all the honour of the latter part, remaining Master of the Field and abundance of Trophys, among which was the *Cornette Blanche* of the *Gendarmes*. Nay he had bid fair for a most compleat victory but for the mis-behaviour of the Imperial General † who stood strongly Suspected of Corrup-

† Count *Zouches*: the Prince told the Count's Son after the Battle, his Fathers baseness was such, that, but out of Consideration for the Emperor his Master, he would have Shot him thro' the Head.

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tion, notwithstanding a florid Letter he writ after the Battle with his own hand to the States, wherein he bestowed on the Prince those Praises that were so justly his due, and which the great *Condé* himself could not deny him as well with Regard to the consummate Military Skill he gave Proofs of, as to the *cesar like* Resolution, with which he flung himself oftentimes into the very thickest of the Danger. Among the great number of Persons of Rank of all Nations, *Volunteers* as well as Officers that followed the Prince's Example on this glorious Occasion (some of whom had the Misfortune to lose their lives, as the Marquis *d'Assenar*, the Generals *Vane* and *Langerac*) none Distinguish'd himself more eminently than *Henry Casimir*, Prince of *Nassau Frize* who tho' but in his eighteenth Year, fought all the time by the side of his Illustrious Kinsman.

As the Battle of *Seneff* was far from being decisive, the Prince of *Orange*, disappointed in the great views he had of driving *Condé* out of *Brabant*, did his utmost but in vain to draw him to a second Action, that Prince intrenching himself in such a manner: (as indeed he had lost the flower of

his Troops) that it was not possible to come at him. *Oudenarde* was attempted to no purpose, thro' the same Imperial General's treachery, but *Grave* indeed was retaken at the End of the Campaign, which secur'd the *United Provinces* on the *Brabant* Side; and the Prince had now establish'd his Credit on so sure a *Basis*, that the States gave themselves up, as it were without reserve, to his Direction in their Civil concerns, as well as in their Military. Notwithstanding a certain Illgrounded jealousy that arose much about this time between the King of *England* and his Nephew, on account of an underhand Correspondence suspected to be carry'd on between his Highness and some Statesmen on this Side, to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Interest, the Mediation above-mention'd was still going forward, and the King imagining he should more effectually bring it about if he gave the management of the Affair to Two Persons of the first Distinction †, both marry'd to Dutch Ladys, one of them attack'd the Prince in so unbecoming a manner upon this Head, (for Sir *William Temple* found he could do nothing with him) and assumed such a seeming superiority from his Age

† The Earls of *Offory*, and *Arlington*, married to two Daughters of Mr. *Beverweert*.

and

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and Experience, that his Highness was so far from being prevailed upon by any thing That Nobleman could urge to him, that on the contrary he conceiv'd a Disgust against him, and lent a deaf Ear to all proposals of an Accomodation, answering perfectly well that noble Character that's given the Prince by an Author who knew him better than any *English* Man of his Time, in the following Words. " I take him to be an unmoveable Person in all Points of what he esteems his own Honour and Interest ; and not to be talked into, or out of any Points where he esteems either of them much concerned."

Besides the Proposal of a Peace with *France*, three things of Importance are said to have been upon the *Tapls* in the Conferences his Highness had with those Plenipotentiarys ; First, an endeavour to persuade him into a discovery of his Correspondents at the English Court a Point to which he answered with that Contempt that became him ; secondly, to draw him into a promise of Succouring the King his Uncle, against the disaffected part of his Subjects to which the Prince very wisely replied, *he hoped there could be no Occasion for any help of that kind* ; and lastly to feel his Pulse with Regard to a Marriage with the Duke of *York's* eldest Daughter, and to this he Answered,

with a Prudence far above his Years, for it was artfully touch'd upon, tho' not directly put to him, *that the present Situation of his Fortunes, would not allow him to think of a Wife.*

Could this generous Prince have consented to drop his Allies, *France* was now ready to offer him any Conditions he could wish, but such was his steadiness to the Scheme he had set out upon, of listening to no Advantages but what should be common to all, that the Snare, thrown in his way proved all ineffectual, and therefore the Plan § he had given to the *English* Ambassador meeting with a Disapprobation at that Court; he resolv'd, notwithstanding, certain Obstacles he met with at home, where the duration of the War began to create much uneasiness, to try the Fortune of one Campaign more; but before he took the Field,

§ This was I. that a match should be concluded between the King of *Spain* and the Duke of *Orlean's* eldest Daughter. II. that *France* should give her in Dowry the conquer'd Places in the *Netherlands*. III. That the K. of *England* should make up this Marriage, and have 200. 000*l.* for his good Offices in it. By this means a Peace would be made with Safety to *Spain* and *Holland*, by securing the Frontiers of *Flanders*; with honour to *France*; who parted with her conquered Towns only as a Dowry to a Daughter of *France*; with Honour to the Prince and the States, as keeping up the Faith of their Alliances; and lastly with Reputation as well as profit to his *Britannick* Majesty.

made

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made a Tour into *Guelderland*. Here they made him a tender of the Sovereignty of their Province, with the Title of Duke, in the same manner as it had been held by his Family some Centurys before : The accepting of this he thought fit to suspend till he had the Opinions of the rest of the Provinces, which took up some time, but notwithstanding that *Utrecht* gave its approbation, as he found the motive strenuously opposed by *Zeeland*, and not at all countenanced by *Holland*, (tho' these last never gave him any positive answer) * to remove the fears of the Parties concerned all at once, he sent Circular Letters to Signify his declining the Offer, acquiring himself an additional Esteem among the *Hollanders*, by this piece of self-denial, which would have become an Old Spartan or a *Roman*

The beginning of the Year 1675 having been spent in Expostulations with the Court of *England*, which had received false and bad impressions † with regard to the Prince, chief-

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* But at the same time the City of *Amsterdam* gave him an hint that their Principal Traders would leave *Holland*, the moment he was vested with that *Dignity* and so did several others.

† As if the Prince had given the disaffected Party, underhand assurances of his intention to stand by them, this

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ly by my Lord *Arlington's* means, who bore Sir *William Temple* no goodwill, and doubtless was far from being hearty in his Highness's Interest; just as he was concerting the operations of the Campaign with the Generals of *Spain* and the Empire, he was taken ill of the small Pox, not without very dangerous Symptoms; but recovered to the Universal comfort of the Provinces receiving the like Compliments from all parts upon that happy Occasion, the King of *France* himself, tho' an Enemy, vouchsafing him a congratulatory Letter, to which the Prince returned Expressions suitable to his sense of the Honour done him, after having communicated both the one and the other to the Pensionary and the States.

The *French* opened the Campaign by the Siege and taking of *Limburg*, while the Prince on the other hand made reprisals upon *Binche*; and the Prince of *Conde* being gone into *Germany* to supply the Great *Turenne's* Room, who was killed by a random Cannon ball in reconnoitring *Monteculis's* Army, *Luxemburg*, a Man justly abhorred by the *Hollanders*, was sent to watch the motions of the Confederates in *Bra-*

was so far believed by the King himself, that he sent to Sir *William Temple*, letting him know that he heard the Prince designed a journey to *England*, and ordered him to put a Stop to it.

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bant, but with a strict injunction not to Hazard a Battle unless upon the utmost emergency. *Turenne's* Death was a sensible blow to the King of *France*, but not to his Ministry, whom the Marshal despised, and by whom he was hated; tho' as they knew, the King's personal Regard for him, they were cautious how they opposed him too strongly. He had the art of making himself beloved by all, excepting where Men seemed to aim at a Competition with him, for with these he seldom kept any measures. A great design died with him that might have been fatal to the *German* Army, and it was no small mortification, to *Condé* that he was sent to Succeed him for this was a proof of his being inferior to his Predecessor, as indeed that Prince was in every thing that depended upon Conduct, notwithstanding the Advantages he had over *Turenne* and all Generals living (the Prince of *Orange* only excepted) in a day of Battle, where he was remarkable for a certain presence of mind and vivacity, that supplied abundance of other Defects. The King did not love, and took all Occasions therefore to mortify him being unable to forget or forgive the Prince's Conduct during his minority; and from thence it was that the Ministers, bating the outward respect due to the Blood of *Bourbon*, treated him so indifferently in all his pretensions.

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The Prince was not yet returned from the Campaign, when he had the Misfortune to lose his most excellent Grand-Mother, the Princess Dowager of *Orange*; and it was pretty soon after this, that he found himself extremely pressed again by *England* to conclude a Peace with *France*, for insisting upon which a new Motive was now found out, viz. the exorbitant Growth of Power in the House of *Austria*. The Prince notwithstanding all this, and the loud Clamours of the *Roman Catholics* in *England*, who wanted to engage the King to an entire Dependence upon *France*, and consequently to increase the Feuds between him and his People; adhered steadily to his old maxim of concluding no Separate Peace; and despised more and more the little artifices used by the *Arlington* Faction, whose drift was to bring him into the *French* Measures, and thereby wean him insensibly from that Confidence he had in the Protestant Party. It was much about this Time that he made the first Overtures to Sir *William Temple*, with regard to his intention of paying his Court to the Princess *Mary*; and as the Ambassador came into this View of the Prince's with all imaginable Alacrity, offering to serve him in it to the utmost of his Power, pursuant to what was concerted between them, his High-
ness

ness broke the Ice of the affair in two suitable Letters to the King and the Duke of *York*, desiring, in case his Suit were granted, Leave to come over to *England* as soon as the Duty of his Trust would permit him; These Overtures My Lady *Temple*, who was then coming for *England* charged her self with, and here we shall suspend our farther Accounts of the Success of that delicate Affair, to see a little the Progress of the Martial Affairs in the new Campaign of 1676, when both Armys took the Field early; The *French* having the start however of the Confederates by a few Days and laying all the Country about *Courtray* under Contribution, as the *Spaniards* had no Forces at all in those Parts to oppose them.

By the Time that it was possible for the Prince to joyn the Duke of *Villa Hermosa*, the Marshal of *Crequi* had already invested *Conde*, a Place of great Importance, and the King hastning thither in Person, accompany'd by his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*, the Town was attacked with that Fury, that the Garrison unable to hold out, were compelled to surrender at Discretion, notwithstanding that the Prince was on full march to attempt to Succour them, and his Majesty had no sooner carryed this Point, but he ordered his Brother to break Ground before *Bouchain*, while he himself at
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the Head of an Army of Observation kept the Confederates in Play. As it was impossible for the Prince to prevent this Town's falling likewise into the Hands of the Enemy, tho' he was advanced as far as *Valenciennes* with the Design to give the King Battle, he was forced to submit to the Mortification of seeing it surrendered before his Eyes, while the utmost he could do, was to seize the Passes and Bridge of the *Dender*, and prevent the Ravages with which that Part of *Flanders* was threatened.

Being upon the Subject of this remarkable Campaign, I cannot pass by a curious Circumstance or two, as I find them related by Bishop *Burnet*, and which are the more notice worthy as having been communicated to the Author by the Person himself who was principally concerned. When the Prince of *Orange*, desirous to relieve *Bouchain*, as we said, marched his Army quite up almost to the King's Camp, it was the Opinion of all the Marshals and Generals that the consequence must inevitably be a Battle, which would put an end to the War in some shape or other. The King having heard all this coldly, declared he would come to no Resolution till he had consulted with *Schomberg*, an old experienced General, famous for his Setting the Crown of *Portugal* upon *John of Braganza's* Head, and who had signa-
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lized himself on many other Occasions, for which he had been recompenced with the Ba-
toon of Marechal. *Louvois* the Prime Minister,
sent for the Marshal by a Man of Confidence,
giving him to understand all that had passed,
and that which way soever he delivered his Sen-
timent, he was to have an Eye to the Safety of
his Majesty's Person. *Schomberg*, who was in a
remote Quarter obeyed the Summons immedi-
ately, waited upon the King in his Tent, and a
Council of War being called, was commanded
to give in his Opinion first. He said, the King
was there on purpose to cover the Siege of *Bou-
chain*, and a young General was come upon a
desperate design of giving him Battle; But that
the King, in regard to his Honour ought to pur-
sue his own Schemes and not suffer himself to
be bravad'd out of them, at any Rate, not even
by the greatest Probability of success, else he
submitted his Councils and Actions to his En-
emy; but that when *Bouchain* was reduced in-
deed, then his Majesty would be at Liberty to
take new Measures. *Schomberg's* advice was
approved of, and the King in Pursuance of it
remain'd in his Trenches; for, as the Prince of
Condé himself observed to young *Ruvigni* (the
late Earl of *Galloway*) *Lewis XIV.*, tho' he
had a mighty Notion of a Battle, and as great
a desire to win one as possible, was always very
apprehensive

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apprehensive of the Danger with regard to his own Person; and therefore *Schomberg* could not pay his Court in a more effectual Manner, than by dispensing him from the Hazard, and at the same time saving his Honour.

After the King's return for *Paris*, the Prince now reinforced by the Troops of *Brandenburgh Newbrug*, and *Osnabrug* on a sudden invested *Mastricht*, upon the Occasion of which Siege it is a Circumstance not unworthy notice, that three *English* Auxiliary Regiments desired the Prince to favour them with a separate Quarter from the rest of the Army, to the end that they might distinguish themselves in a particular manner, as to do them Justice they did, one of them under the Command of that very *Fenwick*, who many years after, when the same Prince was seated upon the *English* Throne, had the Misfortune to suffer for the Assassination Plot, in which he was drawn in to be a principal Actor.

As the Place was defended by 8000 pick'd Men, under the Command of a *Catalan* of great Bravery and Experience, in the Absence of *Marschal d' Estrades* Governor of the Town, then Plenipotentiary at *Nimeguen*, the Loss on the Side of the Besiegers, who did all that could be expected of the most resolute Men, could not but be very considerable, inso-

much

much that the Prince himself receiv'd a Musket-shot in his arm in one of the Attacks; but the want of the Succours he look'd for, the Shallowness of the *Maese* which hinder'd the coming down of his Artillery, and Marshal *Schomberg's* March to relieve the Place, forc'd him to desist from an enterprize that was in so fair a way of Success, at the same time that his own Observation convinc'd him that neither his *German* nor *Spanish* Allies were any longer to be rely'd upon. Indeed, with Regard to the former, since the Battle of *Senef* the Prince had little reason to repose any trust in them, and in respect to the latter was heard to say to his Confidants, that their Ignorance and Weakness was always accompany'd with so much Pride, and so much Reserve, that they would pretend they abounded with stores, when their want of all Necessaries was visible; and boast that their Troops consisted of more Thousands, than upon a Review they were found to do of Hundreds; insomuch that notwithstanding all his Intreaties, he never could come at a true State of the *Spanish* Affairs, every thing falling always infinitely short, of what they themselves gave out, which was the Cause of the bad Success of most of their joint Campaigns; and of this last more particularly.

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The Prince finding the possibility of drawing *Schomberg* to a Battle, unless upon vast Disadvantages, left the Army, at the Approach of the Winter, under the Command of Count *Waldeck*, and came, to the *Hague* to confer with the States-General, and give an Account of his Summer's Expedition. This his Highness perform'd so much to the universal Satisfaction, that he receiv'd the Thanks of the whole Body in the most solemn manner for the vast Fatigues he had undergone, and the Hazards he had run in the Publick Cause, the Pensionary *Fagel* himself acknowledging that their Obligations to him could never be forgotten.

The miserable Conduct, Slowness, and Imbecillity of the Allies, having now totally discourag'd the Prince from pursuing a War, from which he could neither reap advantage to the publick, nor Credit to himself, he began in good Earnest to speak his Mind on that Subject to Sir *William Temple*, and they had the first serious Conference relating to it at *voesdyke*, within a day's Journey of *Nimeguen*, where the Plenipotentiarys of some of the *European* Powers were actually Assembled, in order to compose the yet Subsisting differences, and more were impatiently look'd for. Here, his Highness having expatiated upon the Usefulness of the *Spanish* Troops, for Want of Pay, Order, and
able

able Commanders, for *Monterey* had Conduct without Courage, and *Villa Hermosa* Courage without either Sence or Conduct, as also upon the dilatory Measures of the Imperialists, who were ever waiting for fresh orders from *Vienna*, where the Emulation of Ministers wrought such Distractions and Counterpaces in their Generals, that after all their mighty Promises, the Campaign was half over, commonly, before they enter'd upon Action: Having, I say, enforc'd all this to Sir *William*, he declar'd to him at last his deliberate Intention of putting an End to the War, to which he desir'd his hearty concurrence.

Temple made Answer to this, that the Advances towards a Peace were in very little forwardness hitherto, upon the Account of the slowness of the Powers concern'd in sending their Ministers, that even after they should all be met, the Success of the Negotiations was very uncertain, *France* pretending on the one Hand to retain all she had got by the War, as *Spain* did on the other to recover all she had lost. He added, that the King his Master seem'd of the Mind to concern himself no farther than as a bare Mediator; his own Instructions being merely to serve as a Canal for the respective Parties to convey their Proposals through to each other; nay that he was even

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to decline any Offers of References to his Majesty; and therefore it was to his extreme Concern, Matters being as the Prince represented them, that he saw no other Medium of Attaining to such a Peace as would be agreeable to his Highness and the States, but by pursuing the War with all the Vigour that was possible.

The Prince was easily brought over to the Ambassador's Opinion he acknowled'd the little Likelihood of a Succels answerable to his and the States Wishes, from the Congress then on foot; but said, he believ'd the latter would scarce be induc'd to continue the War, unless some Resolutions of unusual Vigour were taken at *Madrid* and *Vienna*, before the ensuing Campaign. Sir *William* took Occasion here to Renew to him certain Proposals by Commission from M. *Colbert* (one of the French Plenipotentiarys,) much of the same Tenour with those his Highness had formerly receiv'd from M. *d'Estrades*, viz. a sort of *Carte Blanche* to himself, with a Proviso he would Consent to Abandon the *Spaniards*; but to this he reply'd, with the *Sang Froid* and determin'd Resolution he always had done, adding withall, that they were little acquainted with his Temper, who could make him such Overtures; but if they would

would study some Expedient to save his Honour, with Regard to *Spain*, nothing of his own private Concern would retard the Peace a Single Hour.

The Conversation being broke up, and both Parties separated, it is needless to dwell upon the Particulars of what pass'd at *Nimeguen* on Sir *William's* Return thither; but I shall only observe, that at the latter End of the Year, Sir *William* having been press'd by his Highness to make a short Tour to the *Hague* with the King his Master's Permission; they fell upon the old Subject once more, and the Prince having repeated with some new aggravating Circumstances, his former Complaints as well against the Allies, as the Slow measures of the Plenipotentiarys, concluded by asking Sir *William*, whether he could give him any farther light, with Regard to his Majesty's Opinion about the Peace. *Temple* made answer that the Tenour of the King's last letter to him on that score was as follows, " That he concluded from the Prince's Discourses to his Ambassador, he had then no mind to a Peace; " that he, for his part, was sorry for it, believing it his Nephew's Interest to have " one; that he had endeavour'd to sound the " Intentions of the *French* King upon the matter; but if He would not open himself farther

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“ ther on the one hand, nor the Prince on the
 “ other, than they had done hitherto, he was
 “ resolv’d to content himself with acting the
 “ Mediator, and that in the Simple common
 Form.” The Prince answer’d to this, that his
 Majesty’s Letter implied a Coldness he could
 not but be concern’d at, especially as the conclu-
 ding of the peace depended solely upon Him, and
 as He could not be Ignorant of what the whole
 Negotiation would terminate in, according to
 the usual Forms of all Congresses, if it were put
 upon that Issue entirely. That for his own Part
 whatsoever he might have done before, he
 now most seriously desir’d it, for the Reasons
 Sir *William* knew, not only as he thought it,
 with his Majesty, his own particular Interest to
 have the War ended ; but likewise because
 the States thought it theirs ; and were partly,
 determin’d upon it. That he should be sorry
France knew the true Motives both the One and
 the Other had to desire a Peace, because it
 would be the means of raising their Demands ;
 that *Spain* and the Empire indeed, having late-
 ly chang’d their Ministers, were less forward to
 conclude one than they had been heretofore, and
 therefore unless the Treaty could be brought
 about before the Campaign, all *Europe* would
 be in a Flame again probably, which *England*
 might have a Share in, as well as her Neigh-
 bours ; and therefore as he thought it behov’d
 His

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his Majesty to Guard against such an Event, he desir'd He would let him know what Conditions He wished it concluded upon, and he would not fail to consult the Interest of His Crown and Person, as well as his own Honour, and the safety of his Country.

The Pensionary who had a Conference with Sir *William* after this, confirm'd in a great Measure all that had been urg'd by his Highness, declaring a Peace absolutely Necessary for the Provinces; but seemed to hint, in Opposition to what his Highness had declared all along, that a separate one would be preferable to none at all, as *France* especially offered all due satisfaction to the States, by restoring *Mastricht* &c. and to the House of *Orange*, all the Advantages it could possibly desire. The Ambassador not a little surprized at this, waited upon his Highness the next day, to, know if he had seen the Pensionary since the Conversation that had passed between them; the Prince assuring him he had not, Sir *William* entered into the detail of it; adding withall the Pensionary's last Expression, viz. " That he saw
" nothing else left for them to do, but to clap
" up a *Separate Peace*, and that he did not
" know one Man in *Holland*, but what was
" of his Mind. Yes, I am sure I know one,
" says the Prince interrupting him, and that

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“ is my self, and I’ll hinder it as long as I can;
 “ but should any thing extraordinary befall
 “ me, I know it would be done in two days.”
 This is a Fact so very much to the Honour of
 that great Man, that it has induced me to re-
 peat the whole piece of private History, that
 ushers it in.

The Ambassador upon this proceeded to
 sound the Prince’s Opinion with regard to the
 Success of the next Campaign, of which the
 Pensionary seemed to entertain such terrible
 Apprehensions. To this point his Highness
 answer’d with a truly Heroick unconcern, ac-
 knowledging indeed that appearances were
 bad on their side, but still if they came to a
 fair Battle he did not look upon the Game as
 quite desperate; that it was wholly in the King
 of *England’s* Breast to prevent things going that
 length, but if his Majesty was really so indif-
 ferent as he seemed, and suffered the Winter
 to slip away without reconciling the opposite
 Parties, he for his part was determin’d to take
 his chance as well as others, concluding with a
 very apropos parallel between himself and an
 Old Fisherman he had seen in his skiff but that
 very morning, carry’d away by an Eddy
 against which he had been struggling to no
 purpose.

Notwithstanding that all these matters were
 represented

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represented by Sir *William* to the King and his Ministers in the fullest and most pressing manner Imaginable, yet the return they both made to them was of little Satisfaction either to the Prince or the States, nothing being obtained farther than this, that the States Ambassador in *London*, should lodge a memorial with his Majesty, in which they were to desire Him to use his Interest with *France* to procure them a Peace, without which *Flanders* was in Danger of being lost. At the same Time the Ambassador being pressed more than ever, as well by the Pensionary as the Prince, (who by the way always differ'd with Regard to a Separate Peace, which the latter was resolv'd to Dye rather than consent to) to procure the King's final Answer in respect to this weighty Affair, a good deal of time was lost in Vain Expectations, and his Majesty's last Thoughts upon the matter were so Inconclusive, and so partial to *France* when they did come, that the Prince Sensible of his Ill usage from the *English* Ministry, resolv'd without farther delay to take the Field, depending upon mighty promises from the Emperor; but the States Troops were so long in getting together that the King of *France*, who was return'd into the *Netherlands* at the Head of 60000 Men, was master already of *Valenciennes* and *Cambrai* and in a fair way of taking *St Omer* which the Duke of *Orleans* had invested,

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invested, before the least Opposition could be made to the Progress of his Arms.

A Danger so imminent as this was, having hurry'd the Prince away towards the Enemy with what Forces so short a warning would permit him to get together; he marched directly to the Relief of *St Omer*, and finding the Duke of *Orleans* advanced a good way from his Trenches to meet him, made a stand at a Place called *Mountcassel*, on the great Road to that Town, whence the Duke endeavouring to dislodge him, there followed a General Engagement, which after much Blood spill'd on both sides, through the Cowardise of the Dutch Infantry, turned to the advantage of *France*. The Duke indeed had no stomach to pursue his Victory, his Troops having been great sufferers in the Action, but let the Prince retire in excellent order over the Canal of *Ghent*. *St Omer*, despairing of Relief, surrender'd a few days after the Battle, while the Prince of *Orange* met with a new disappointment in the miscarriage of his design upon *Charleroy*, which he thought to have surpriz'd, and thus ended the fatal Campaign of 1677 much in the manner that he had foreseen it would, at the Time of his Conferences with the Ambassador of *England*. It was supposed that the King of *France* grew jealous of the honour

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honour his Brother had acquir'd in the Battle of *Mount-Cassel* ; for from that Time forward, the Duke never had the command of an Army, and Courage being almost the only good Quality he was endow'd with, his having no farther Occasion given him to shew it, proceeded very probably from the King's being conscious of some want of it in himself.

As all this happened during the Sessions of the *English* Parliament, the People could not but receive bad Impressions with Regard to the Court, which neglected a Prince and a State they wish'd so well to, in this Scandalous manner ; Sir *William Coventry* opened the Business in the House of Commons ; representing the ill Consequences to this Nation in particular, should the *United Provinces* fall under the Power of *France*, as they inevitably must if a speedy Stop were not put to the Progress of the Arms of that Crown ; and how much it was the King's own Interest to withdraw his Mediation, and enter into an Alliance with the Confederate Powers. This the whole House readily went into, not without severe reflections on those, who had advised his Majesty to assist the King of *France* with Land Forces, there being several *English* Regiments notoriously in that Service, which had a great share in the Victories obtain'd over the *Hollan-*
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ders. It was indeed given out for the saving of appearances, that the *Dutch* were allowed to raise Levys in *Britain*, but the encouragement given the *French* on the same Account, was quite, of another kind, more particularly in *Scotland*, where the Officers of that Nation might almost be said to press the King's Subjects into their Service, having not only the Allowance of the common Jayls to keep their Recruits in, but likewise the Castle of *Edenburgh* it self, till such Time as the Ships for their Transport were in readyness. The *Spanish* Ambassador, whose Knowledge this Affair had reach'd, had made heavy Complaints about it already; insomuch that a Proclamation was issued, prohibiting farther Levies; but the Duke of *Lauderdale* aware of the publication of it, acquainted the Recruiters underhand with the design, and advis'd them to Ship off their Men with all expedition. However so great was the Treachery and Corruption in that part of *Britain*, that the very Proclamation when it came down, was kept back till they were all sail'd away, and notwithstanding that one of the Ships was forc'd into *Leith* again by stress of weather, yet was there not the least notice taken of it.

A great deal of time was spent thus, in reciprocal Messages between the King and his Parliament

Parliament; the latter still addressing him to fall in with the Interest of *Europe*, and he as often returning angry Answers, and letting them know that their concerning themselves with Peace or War, was an Invasion of his Prerogative. People from this shew of ill-Blood apprehended bad Consequences to the Kingdom in General, my Lord *Shaftsbury* Spiriting up the Commons on the one Hand, and my Lord *Danby* (high Treasurer) keeping the King in the *French* Interest as manifestly on the other; but the Sessions broke up without any farther Ill-Effects of this Difference, tho' the King dismiss'd the Member that brought him the last Address with all the visible Marks of Displeasure. *Danby* who at first had despised the Opposition, now began to think himself lost, if the King could not be weaned from *France*, and therefore sat him seriously to bring that defection about; giving the Prince, who had no Opinion of that Minister at all, repeated assurances by Sir *William Temple* of the speedy Success of his Endeavours. One of the first steps towards it was the Prince's complying at last with *Danby's* request in asking the King's permission to go and pay him a Visit. His Highnesses desire was granted accordingly, and the King gave hopes of making every thing easy.

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The Court of *France* took Umbrage at this, and signified it's jealousy by the Ambassador *Barillon*, as suspecting that a Marriage was on Foot, but the King assured him that his fears were ill-grounded, the Prince only coming over to confer with him about a Peace, which he hoped to bring about to the satisfaction of *France*.

For some time after the Prince's arrival, the Prospect of his coming to a conclusion with his Unkles carry'd no great Air of Success. His Highness's Main drift at this time was the Marriage with the Princess *Mary* which he had open'd himself upon to Sir *William Temple*; but he was going back without so much as proposing it, (as he foresaw that he should receive a denial, unless he came up to the King's and Duke of *York's* Terms, in other respects) when *Danby* pressed his stay a few days longer, and begged his Highness would leave the whole Affair to his Management.

The Earl having obtaining the Prince's consent, broke the matter to the King accordingly a few Days after, watching his opportunity when his Majesty was in a good humour, but first pav'd the way to the motion by shewing him a Bundle of Letters, which were sent,
he

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he said, from several Parts of *England*, and all concurr'd in the same unanimous request that a marriage should be concluded between his Highness and the Duke of *York's* Eldest Daughter, the whole Kingdom being perswaded that he came over in that View ; and therefore as it was a thing of the highest Consequence, he besought Him Seriously to think upon it, and prevent by some advances of His own, those Addresses the Two Houses of Parliament would infallibly make to that effect, which would take off the honour of it from His Majesty ; and this he farther enforced by representing to the King, not only how much the Prince himself would be obliged by it (for he owned that it had been the Subject of a conversation between them) but likewise that nothing could contribute so much as that marriage towards the promoting a mutual confidence between His Majesty and His People.

The first Objection, of the Prince's not having spoke of it to the King in his own Person, having been artfully taken off by my Lord *Danby*, who Imputed it to his fear of a Denial, the King said in the next place, his Brother would never consent to it : to this the Earl made answer that in that case it was his Opinion His Majesty might lay His commands on the Duke

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Duke, whose Interest he thought it much more than the King's to have the Prince of *Orange* marry his Daughter, as that alone could dispel those apprehensions the Body of the Kingdom lay under from the belief of his Royal Highnesses being a Papist. These reasons appearing, as doubtless they were, of very great weight ; the King expressed an immediate compliance, and sending for the Duke, told him he desir'd his concurrence to a thing that He was certain would be as much for his Interest, as it would be for His own private Satisfaction and Quiet ; His Brother returning an Answer to this that shewed a perfect resignation to his Majesty's pleasure, the King left *Danby* to repeat over all he had said on that Head to himself, at which the Duke being startled, the King pressed the Affair to him in such a manner, that his Royal Highness could not but give a seeming consent to it ; whereupon the Earl was immediately dispatch'd to fetch the Prince of *Orange*, as also to Summon a Council in his Majesty's Name. The Prince waited upon the King presently after, who acquainted him with his Resolution in a most obliging manner, and the Duke (whatever Reluctancy he might feel within himself,) was not behind hand with his Brother in Expressions suitable to the Occasion.

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A piece of News of this Importance, and such a Blow to the Roman Catholick Interest, may be easily supposed to have caused no less a Concern among those of that Persuasion, than it did a Gladness among the Protestant Part of the three Kingdoms. *Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador, had no sooner an hint given him of this, but he set all Engines to Work to prevent the King's declaring the marriage in Council, tho such measures had been taken by *Danby* before hand for preventing the King's or Duke's being spoke, to by any Person whatsoever, till the matter had been publickly declared, that every design to obstruct it prov'd ineffectual, and at the breaking up of the Council, his Majesty presented the Prince with his own hand to the young Princess, as the Person that was intended for her Husband: *Barillon*, under this unforeseen disappointment, dispatch'd an Express to his Court, upon whose arrival at *Versailles*, my Lord *Mountague*, Ambassador from *England*, was immediatly summoned thither by the *French* King, who having imparted the News to him (for his Lordship was hitherto a stranger to it) appeared to be in a mighty agitation of Spirits, breaking out into severe Expostulations, and saying it was ever his Opinion the Prince of *Orange's* Journey would end in this; and that he now supposed him-

self quite forsaken by the *English* Court, since the Duke of *York* himself whom he took for his Friend, had bestowed his Daughter upon the greatest Enemy he had in the World. To all this the Ambassador had no Answer to make, as being yet unapprized of the Affair, but next day received a Pacquet with Letters to the *French* King, from his Majesty, from the Duke of *York*, and from the Prince himself, to notify the Marriage in form: his Highness indeed would willingly have been dispensed from a Compliment of this kind, but was obliged to it by his Unkle, as a Civility which the nearness of Blood exacted at his Hands. The King, at the receipt of these Letters, tho' he expressed himself in very obliging Terms, could not but feel an inward discontent, notwithstanding the Assurances given him from the *English* Court, that the Main Motive to the Marriage, was to render the Prince of *Orange* more tractable, with regard to the Treaty then going on at *Nimeguen*. My Lord *Mountague* being recalled soon after, to receive new Instructions, was asked by the Treasurer how the King of *France* had relished the News of the Match, to which he replied, "that he had
 " been equally thunderstruck with it, as he
 " could have been at the loss of an whole
 " Army, but laid the greatest blame upon
 " the Duke of *York*, for not having so much

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" as acquainted him with what they were
 " about. My Lord *Danby* made Answer
 " to this, that the Duke was censured
 " wrongfully, as having been a stranger to the
 " Marriage himself, but an hour before
 " it was declared ;" and his Lordship said
 very true, for he was sensible of the
 consequence of letting the Duke into the Se-
 cret, till such time as the King's Approbation
 should be obtained, as the least Leisure for Re-
 flection given him must have undoubtedly
 defeated the Scheme, through the Interest the
 Popish Party had in obstructing it. It is cer-
 tain that his Royal Highness resented the Earl's
 surprising him into a consent, in the manner
 he did, very heinously, and it was evident
 enough from that Prince's after behaviour
 when he came to be King, how hard the Re-
 membrance of this Masterpiece of Politicks
 bore upon him.

The Match being now agreed upon, his
 Highness gave the States General Notice of
 it forthwith by a particular Express, signifying
 to them withall ; " that as they had often
 " testified their earnest Desire to see him mar-
 " ryed ; in conformity to their wishes, and
 " after duly considering the motives that had
 " induced them to press him to change his
 " Condition, he thought he could not consult

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“ the Good of the State better, than by making his addresses to the Princess *Mary*, the Duke of *York*’s eldest Daughter ; that he had accordingly sought her in marriage, that her Uncle and her Father had given him their consents, and that he waited only for their approbation of the match, to conclude it with all possible speed, to the End that he might the sooner return home, and provide for their common Security.” The States having immediately assembled, and the Prince’s Letter being read, after seriously weighing the many and great Advantages this Match would produce, testified their Concurrence by a Publick Edict, in Terms full of Joy and Satisfaction, declaring further the mighty Opinion they had of and Hopes from so glorious an Alliance, and their sincere Resolution to cultivate the Ancient Friendship, and good Correspondence between the Two Nations.

The States Answer arriving at *London* on the 4th of *November* (his Highness’s Birth Day) the Marriage was celebrated at eleven that very Night at *White-hall*, but with so great a Secrecy, that it was not known to the People till the next Day, when the News of it, spread over *London* and *Westminster*, heightened not a little the usual Rejoicings upon the Anniversary of Gunpowder Treason. The Bishop of *London* was the Person that performed

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formed the Ceremony, and when he came to the usual Question, *Who gives this Lady?* The King answer'd with a loud Voice *I do,* and presented the Princess himself.

Within two or three Days after this illustrious Wedding, Debates arose between the King, Duke, and Prince, about the Terms of the Peace with *France*, to which none but the Treasurer and Sir *William Temple* were admitted. The Prince insisted hard upon the Strength and Enlargement of a Frontier on both Sides of *Flanders*, without which he said *France* would End this War with a Prospect of Beginning another with greater Advantage, and carrying that whole Province in one single Campaign; being aware that Her present only view was to break the Confederacy. He added that the *French* would set no Bounds to their Ambition till they were Masters not of *Flanders* alone, but likewise of all that Part of *Germany* that lyes on this Side the *Rhine*, and brought the *United Provinces* thereby to an absolute Dependance upon them, which as it would be the Ruin of the *Dutch*, so would it on the other Hand be a terrible check upon *England*; and that in short, the Peace in Agitation, would be no Manner of Security to the rest of *Europe*, unless *Holland* could obtain the Barrier she

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proposed

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proposed, unless *Lorain* were given back to its Sovereign, and lastly *Spain* and the Emperor reinstated in what they had lost in *Burgundy* and *Alsace*.

The King and Duke came in readily into the Restitution of *Lorain* and *Alsace*, but would not hear of the Demand relating to *Burgundy*, † Notwithstanding that the Prince insisted strongly upon it, as no doubt he had great Cause, partly by reason of his Allies, and partly upon the Account of his own Patrimonial Lands in that Province; which were considerable, and to which he had rather a better *Seigneurial* Right, than the King of *Spain* had to his. The King indeed, told his Highness, that he would charge himself with his enjoying full as safely under *France*, as could do under *Spain*, whatsoever Lands he might claim in *Burgundy*, unless he chose rather to accept an Equivalent for them; but to this the Prince generously made Answer, That he for his Part, was content freely to give up his own Pretensions with a Proviso that *Spain* had some

† By this is only meant the County of *Burgundy*, commonly called *Franche Comté*. for the Dutchy had been annexed to *France* ever since the Death of *Charles le Hardi*.

* By Vertue of the Inheritance of *Chalon*.

good Town upon the *Flanders* Frontiers to compensate Her loss of *Burgundy* ; so that all Difficulties now began to center, in what was to be yielded up, or retain'd on that Side of the *French* Conquests.

Many Conferences more were held between the King and the Prince upon the same Subject ; the former still endeavouring to mend the Conditions in favour of *France*, and the latter as warmly insisting upon whatever he thought *Spain* could best find her Account in. The Plan agreed upon at last was this ; That all should be restor'd by *France* to the *Empire* and the Emperor, that had been taken during the War, that the Duke of *Lorain* should have his Dutchy again ; That *France*, and *Holland*, should mutually evacuate each others Conquests ; and that *Spain* should be put in Possession of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Ghislain*, and *Binche*. His Majesty and the Prince having come to this Resolution, they each of them dispatch'd a Person of Confidence, the one to *Versailles*, and the other to *Madrid*, with Orders not to enter into Reasonings upon the Matter, but to give the respective Powers two Days for a positive Answer ; at the End of which Term, he was immediately to return. The King pitch'd upon my Lord

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Duras † for this important Errand, whose Message, and the peremptory Manner it was deliver'd in, surpris'd the *French* Court not a little; they put a good Face upon it nevertheless, passing great Compliments upon his Majesty, who was they said *le Maître de faire comme bon lui sembleroit*, but at the same Time seem'd not at all pleas'd with the propos'd Cession of so many strong Towns, *Tournay* more particularly, on the Fortifications of which Treasures had been expended, and therefore desired a further Time to consider: *Duras* assur'd them he was limited to two Days, but on the Expiration of those, was prevail'd upon to a little longer stay, and at last dismiss'd with only this indeterminate Answer, that they hop'd the King of *England* would not break with them for a Town or two, and that *M. Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador in *London*, should have Instructions to talk with his Majesty himself, upon the Matter in Dispute. This gaining of Time and Artificial way of protracting the Affair into a Treaty, contrary to what had been resolv'd on at first, without any positive Refusal, was very displeasing to the Nation in general, as well as to the Prince in particular,

† He was afterwards Earl of *Feverham*.

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not without a Suspicion of some underhand Management, which was confirm'd by the King's employing *Duras*, a Native of *France*, and a Man of great Alliances at that Court: His Highness, impatient of those Delays, took his Farewell of his Majesty and the Duke, with the Satisfaction of having omitted nothing on his Side, that could contribute to the Tranquility of *Europe*, and, leaving strong Impressions, in all the Protestant Part of the Kingdom, as well of his Abilities, as of his Inclination to serve them, embark'd with his Princess for *Holland* on the 19th of *November*, where, after some stay at *Honstâérdyke*, they enter'd the *Hague* in a most Magnificent Cavalcade, upon Pavements strew'd with Flowers, under Triumphal Arches, the Streets being lin'd on either Side with armed Burghers, and with a those other Circumstances that are the usual exterior Marks of Satisfaction, upon Occasions of that Nature; no cost being spared to convince the Prince, and his Royal Confort, how truly Welcome their Highnesses were into those grateful and affectionate Provinces.

In the beginning of the Year 1678, King *Charles*, sensible of the general bent of the Nation to a Peace, and of the Ground he had
lost

lost in the Affections of the People by having been so many Years avowedly in the *French* Interest, and in the Measures of the Duke his Brother, called a new Parliament; at the opening of which, his Majesty declar'd the Sense he had of the dangerous State their Neighbours were in, and how necessary it was to put Things upon a Ballance; to which End he press'd the House of Commons for Supplies, as well for an Army as a Fleet. The latter was agreed to, but Sir *William Coventry* opposed the raising of a Land Force, and mov'd for hiring Foreign Troops, and the Instant recalling of the *English* Regiments in the *French* Service, in order to their being employ'd by the *Dutch*. He likewise represented how absolutely necessary it was to cut off the Commerce of *France* in all Parts of the World, as also to prohibit any Trade with them here at Home, where the Ballance was against us, at least one Million Sterling every Year, a monstrous Sum at that Time of Day. The Number of Commissions the King had promised to Men of Quality in both Houses, at last, after many Debates, carried it in Favour of a Land Army; but at the same Time an Act was pass'd to prohibit the Importation of *French* Manufactures for three Years, which, tho' made as strict as possible

possible, the Merchants found ways to elude and the Court was too manifestly *French*, not to connive at the Breach of such a Law. In the Preamble of this Act indeed, it was set forth that we were in actual War with *France*, which was straining the Point a little, by the Artifice of the Ministry, to ingratiate themselves with the People, and the Argument to prove it, was drawn from the recalling of the Regiments in the Service of that Crown.

The King of *France* finding himself threatened from a Quarter he so little expected, began now to employ all his Engines, to disunite, and breed Jealousies, between *England*, and the States, carrying on at the same Time, two different Intrigues, one in *London* and the other at the *Hague*: But without waiting the Issue of his Stratagems, at the Instigation of *Louvois*, he marches in Person to *Metz*, attended by his whole Court; feigning a Design upon *Luxemburg*, *Namur*, or some other Places in that Neighbourhood; which March having answered the End of it, in drawing the Allies that way, he cross'd the *Netherlands* on a sudden, and invested, and took *Ghent* and *Ypres*, before it was possible for either Place to be succour'd, throwing an universal Panick over the *United Provinces*, and enflaming the *English* against him

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him exceedingly. This was *Louvois's* Master-piece, who, from a kind of Coadjutor that he was before to his Father, *M. Colbert*, work'd his way by it, into his Master's entire Confidence, and terrified the *Dutch* into a serious Resolution of making their Peace at any Rate, and it is affirm'd, that had it not been for the fear of exasperating *England* too far, he could with the same ease have put *Ostend*, *Newport*, and *Bruges* into the Hands of the *French* King.

England now seem'd resolv'd to begin Hostilities in good earnest, the Duke of *Monmouth* being sent over with a Body of Troops to the Assistance of the Allies; but the Parliament complaining of the slackness of the Ministry in their tedious Delays, address'd the King to remove those Persons from about him, that obstructed the Measures, taken for the Honour and Safety of the Nation, plainly pointing out the Earl of *Danby*; and refused giving any Money, unless it were towards the Expence of a War, the rather, as News came much about the same Time of the *French* King's having quitted *Messina* † and all *Sicily*

† The *French* had encouraged that Island to revolt from the *Spaniards*, and put themselves under their Protection

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cily; which seem'd done in the View of turning his whole Force against the *Netherlands*.

The *French* finding themselves unable with all their Interest at the *English* Court, to stave off a War, that was so much the Desire of the People in general; and frustrated in their Hopes from their underhand Negotiations at the *Hague*, thought fit now to make their Conditions publick, which they did in a very peremptory Tone, insisting strongly upon the Possession of the most important Part of their Conquests; that is, desiring, as the Prince had foretold in his former Conferences with his Uncle, to make a Peace upon such Terms, as might enable them, whenever they would, to over-run all the *Low Countries*.

The States were glad however, to come into it at any rate, such especially of the Members as had the Seeds in them of the Old *Dewit* Faction, who did their utmost to persuade the People into a belief of the

in 1674; but after they had amused them three Years with vain Hopes, they abandon'd them up to their Enemies, without making any Terms for the *Sicilians*, particularly the *Messinese*, who had so well deserved at their Hands, to the utter ruin of that poor people.

Prince

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Prince of *Orange's* ambitious Views; but his Highness, notwithstanding all Opposition, persisted generously in his first Maxim of not abandoning his Allies. It is not to be conceived how *France* paid her Court to *Holland* in all this Affair, endeavouring to detach her from the other Powers concern'd, on Purpose to Cajole the Prince's Enemies; but King *Charles* seem'd now so fully dispos'd, through the constant Clamours of the People, to act Offensively both at Sea and Land against that Crown, that the *French* must in all likelihood have been forc'd into a Plan of much more general Satisfaction, had not new Disturbances arose in *England*, which put a stop to that Harmony between his Majesty and his Parliament, that was necessary towards carrying on so great and just a Design.

The Faction opposite to the Prince, had, notwithstanding all his remonstrances, by artful Insinuations in which *France* had a great share, carried their Point so effectually, that the Peace was just about to be signed between that Crown, *Spain*, and *Holland*, (for the Emperor, *Demark*, and *Brandenburg*, refused to come into it) when a Difference arising between *Balbaces*, the *Spanish* Plenipotentiary, and those of *France*, with regard to the Time for the Evacuation of certain Towns that were

were to be deliver'd to the former, and which the latter would have kept in their Hands, (by way of Caution, as they pretended, for the Satisfaction to be given to the *Swedes*) that the whole Treaty broke off upon it. The States sent immediately *M. Van Leuwen* to *England* to acquaint the King with what had pass'd, and to know his Majesty's Opinion and Resolution, in regard to a Point that so nearly concern'd all *Christendom*: The King hereupon assur'd that Minister of his sincere and steady Intention to sign a Treaty with the States, by Vertue of which, if *France* did not consent to evacuate the said Places by a Time limited, he would oblige himself to carry on the War jointly with them, with the utmost Vigour, and to confirm them in the belief of his Sincerity (which however, there were good Grounds to suspect, especially since my Lord *Danby* still continued in favour) he sent Sir *William Temple* back, in Company with *Van Leuwen*, to the great Joy of the Prince of *Orange*, who confided very much in that able Statesman, and hop'd by his Means to recover those Conditions of Peace for all his Allies in general, as had been wrested out of his Hands by the Power of a Faction, which had taken birth at *Amsterdam*, and spread itself since into the rest of the Provinces. To put this Negotiation then upon a right Foot-
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ing, Sir *William* contriv'd it so, that a Conference was held with some of the Members of the States, and principal Burgomasters, at *M. Van Leuwen's* Coutry House, who assur'd them jointly with Sir *William*, how ready his *Britannick* Majesty was to concur with them in every Thing that was for the common Good ; and how heartily he exhorted them to agree with the Prince in this delicate Affair. The Ambaffador found but one of them, *M. Patz*, of *Harlem*, who was inflexible upon this Point ; the rest being plainly convinc'd what groundless Jealousies they had conceived against his Highness, upon the Account of his Marriage with the Duke of *York's* Daughter, and against the King (*which indeed they had more Reason for a great deal*) because of his supposed Attachment to *France*. For the rest, the Scruple made by the *French* to deliver up the Towns they had promised, under pretence of the *Swedish* Interest, was such a manifest Equivocation, that there was no Dependance upon the Sincerity of that Court, unless they were ty'd down in the strongest Manner. And therefore the Reasonableness of the Prince's non-compliance, was so demonstrably Evident, that his Highness's Side of the Question began to prevail, inasmuch, that when the *English* Ambassadors (*Temple* and *Jenkins*) fell into the Negotiations

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Negotiations at *Nimeguen*, it was resolved that the *French* should declare within fourteen Days, whether they would evacuate the *Spanish* Towns by a limited Time; and in Case of a refusal, then *England*, in Conjunction with the *United Provinces* and the rest of the Confederates, was to attack that Crown immediately, and carry on the War with all the Vigour possible.

It is scarce to be imagin'd what new Life the Prince of *Orange's* Authority received from this Resolution, and how readily the States themselves acknowledg'd his Superiority of Reason with regard to a concern of that Importance, for is it certain they had, till now, laid but little Stress upon all the Promises of the *English* Court to enter into a War with *France*. It is very possible indeed that they might the more readily agree to this Treaty with *England*, as they had a very fresh Instance of the alacrity with which *France* laid hold of all Advantages; for notwithstanding that the Peace was upon the Point of being sign'd, the Troops of that Crown were actually besieging *Mons*, under the Command of the Duke of *Luxemburg*, and News was expected every Moment of its Surrender. The Treaty had been no sooner sign'd, but the Prince who had now
increas'd

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increas'd his Army with an Auxiliary Force of ten thousand *English*, march'd with all Expedition to the Relief of that Place, in a firm belief that *France* (seeming too far in Honour engaged to consent to the Evacuation of of the *Spanish* Towns) would put no End to the War as Matters then Stood, and that he left the States fully disposed to conclude no Peace but in Conjunction with its Allies. Never Man went more determinately resolved to fight an Enemy than did that Heroick Prince at this critical Juncture, well knowing that the Turn of the Ballance one way or other depended wholly upon a Battle ; and never did Court behave with less Constancy or Honour than that of *England*, notwithstanding the Treaty they had signed, and the Troops they had furnished ; for they suffered the *French* Artifices to gain so far upon them, as to condescend to propose a longer Day for consulting upon the *Evacuation* Affair, and to Name *Ghent* or *St. Quintin* for the Place of Conference, where, to amuse them still the more, it was said the King of *France* would assist in Person. The States, who could not but be highly scandalized at this fickle proceeding ; kept firm to their Point nevertheless, which obliged King *Charles*, who had no Mind at all to enter into a formal War, to send over in all haste one *Du Croix* to Sir William Temple

ple, then at the *Hague*) charging the said Plenipotentiary to repair to *Nimeguen* instantly, and do his utmost to prevail upon the *Swedes* that they would desist, for the common good of Christendom, from those *Cbicanes* which retarded the Peace, and even make it their own request to the *French* King, that he would, without more ado, evacuate the *Spanish* Towns, promising them in return all the good Offices possible on his Majesty's Part towards procuring them afterwards whatever Advantages they could expect.

Sir, *William*, no less surpriz'd at this *demarche* of his Court, than were the Pensionary and the States themselves, in Obedience to his Instructions went for *Nimeguen*, where he arrived but three Days before the Expiration of the Term that had been agreed upon between *England* and *Holland*, and found the rest of the Plenipotentiaries almost despairing of an happy Issue of their Negotiations, as the *French* seem'd less inclin'd than ever, to comply with the Terms of the Confederates, Partly, from the Belief that *Luxemburg* would be Master of *Mons* in a few Days; and partly, from the News they had received that Marshal *Schomberg* seem'd to threaten *Cologne*, whilst another Body of *French* Forces lay hovering in the Neighbourhood of *Brussels*.
In

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In this Situation of Affairs, the greatest hope the Confederates could have, was from the promise of Assistance from *England*, whose Honour now was far engag'd ; but yet these unsteady and fluctuating Measures alarmed them not a little ; when on a sudden the *French* Plenipotentiaries unexpectedly came down to the Conditions so long insisted on, having *Louvois's* Instructions to sign the Peace immediatly, which was done on the Side of the States Deputies after some short Hesitation ; these last taking upon them, quite in Opposition, to what the Prince of *Orange* had all along advis'd, to exclude all the Confederates, but *Spain* ; and even to make Terms for that Crown, before they were certain whether she would approve of them or not.

The Prince, who, as Distant as he was, could be no Stranger to what was in Agitation, used his utmost Efforts, in vain, to draw *Luxemburg* to a Battle ; and therefore, being join'd by a Body of *Brandenburg*, and *Munster* Troops, resolv'd to force him if possible from his Post, as in Effect he did at last, after a most obstinate Engagement of several Hours, during which his Highness perform'd all that could be expected from a General of the

the most consummate Military Knowledge and Valour, with this only Exception, that he was too negligent of so valuable a Life, running into the thickest of the Fire, with that unconcern that is Hereditary to the House of Orange. Upon this Occasion it was Here the Gallant M. *D' Auverquerque* interposed like another *Cleus*, between the Prince and a French Officer who was just presenting his Pistol at him and kill'd the latter upon the Spot, for which Service that brave Man so justly famous in the World since those Days, had given him by the States, a Sword, Pistol and Horse Furniture, suitable to the Dignity of those that made the Present, and the Merit of him that receiv'd it. Among all the Generals, and Men of Quality that followed his Highness's Example on that remarkable Day, none came off with more Honour and Applause, than the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Earl of *Ossory* who headed the *English*. Night putting an End to the Dispute, which would else have been followed by greater Advantages for the Allies, *Luxemburg*, left the Prince Master of the Field, sheltering himself with a Wood on one Side, and a River on t'other; and the next Morning receiv'd a Message from his Highness, to acquaint him with the sign-

ing of the Peace at *Nimeguen*, † the News of which had reach'd the Prince a few Hours after the Action. *Luxemburg* upon this desir'd the Honour of meeting his Highness, which was accordingly done between the two Camps, the two Generals being attended by all the Nobility and chief Officers in their respective Armies, and all those Civilities pass'd between them which became Persons of that Condition, while the *French* could not but look with Admiration upon a Prince of eight and twenty Years of Age that had given Life and Vigour to so Desperate an Enterprize as that of the Day before.

† The Prince's Enemies gave it out, that he actually knew of the Peace at the Time that he gave the Battle, tho' if he had, he was very excusable, as he had not a formal Notification of it from the States Plenepotentiaries. Many People believe indeed, that the Marquis *de Grana* the Spanish General intercepted the Pacquets from *Nimeguen* till the Action was over; *Spain* did not at all find its Account in this Peace.

As the Prince ended the War, so much to his Glory, with this *Coup d' Eclat* on the one Hand, so was it no small Vexation to him on the other, to be forced to a Cessation of Hostilities, just at a Time when he could have pursued them, in all likelihood, with great Advantage to the Allies in general, and infinite Reputation to himself in particular. The *French*, on the contrary, notwithstanding all their affected Cavils and Delays, were, at the Bottom, heartily glad to see the Peace concluded, being now quite sick of the War. for many Reasons, and therefore passed over the Affair of the Battle of *St. Denis* without the least Shew of Resentment, which else gave them a fair Handle for picking a new Quarrel, as it was actually subsequent to the signing of the Treaty; and, as they might have pretended, had they had a mind (let the Thing have been never so false in Reality) that the Prince of *Orange* had fought them with the Peace in his Pocket. New Difficulties arose, indeed, upon the *French* King's Refusal to confirm, under his own Hand, what his Plenipotentiaries had agreed to, with Regard to the Cession of the six *Spanish* Towns, till the *Swedes* had ample Satisfaction: But here *England* struck in again, and King *Charles* talking as if he designed a War in good Earnest, the *French* granted every thing that was asked, by not only evacuating the Towns, but likewise engaging to repay *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*

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the Expence of the War. Thus the Peace became general, tho' very imperfect at best, and not at all agreeable to the Prince of *Orange's* Plan*, and the Troops *England* had in the Service of the States, were recalled, at the strong Instances of *Ruvigni*†, dispatched from *France* upon that Account, tho', as they were not immediately disbanded, the disaffected Party, in the Commons, took Umbrage upon it, insinuating, that some bad Design was upon the Anvil, when the sudden breaking out of the Popish Plot threw the whole Kingdom into such a Ferment, as nothing could quiet but the Duke's going beyond Sea, the Removal of the Lord *Danby*, and the calling of a new Parliament, and a new Privy Council.

The Prince of *Orange*, who had quite betaken himself to a retired Life, since the patching up of this disagreeable Peace, in the Beginning of the Year 1680, projected a new Alliance against *France*, in Concert with some of the *German* Powers. The chief Motive to it was a new Kind of Court the *French* King had erected at *Metz*, which assumed a Right of Sovereignty over some of the Princes bordering upon *Lorain* and *Alsace*, under the Petence
of

* He insisted all along upon reducing the *French* to the Terms of the *Pyrenean* Treaty; and was for carrying on the War till that could have been effected. He expressed himself with great Warmth, on that Head, to Sir *William Temple*, when Mr. *Hyde* (afterwards Earl of *Rochester*) was sent over with an After-Message to the States, when the Peace was already signed.

† Late Earl of *Gallway*.

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of fictitious or forgotten Titles, that brought them in as Dependants upon the new Conquests of that Crown. Foreign Affairs seemed to be quite buried in Oblivion at our Court; but the Prince, in whose Confidence Mr. *Sidney**, the *English* Envoy, was at that Time very deep, heartily wished the King his Uncle could have been induced to join in these Measures. M. *Van Beuning*, then in *England*, was founded upon this Head; but the Answer he returned was, *That the Court was not only too much in the French Interest to be depended upon; but also, that the Jealousies running so high as they did, between the Court and Country Party, he did not believe it possible to heal Matters, so as to encourage the King to enter into any Alliance that might draw him into a War; for his Majesty looked upon that as the sure Way to put him into the Hands of his Parliament, which he was determined to avoid.* Notwithstanding this, however, the Plan of a new League was drawn up, and the King gave Hopes of coming heartily into it, as soon as Matters could be made easy at home; to which, a Visit he received from the Duke his Brother, who had left the Kingdom the Year before, might very probably be a main Obstacle. Sir *William Temple*, a Minister of late Years much in the Prince's Confidence (notwithstanding the Umbrages his Highness might formerly have conceived from his Intimacy with

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* Afterwards Earl of *Romney*.

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De Wit) was recalled much about this Time*, in order to be made Secretary of State, which, however, he never accepted of; and the whole Remainder of King *Charles's* tumultuous Reign was, in a manner, taken up by Enquiries into Plots, and bloody Executions on one Side or other; in which some of the State-Victims were of the first Nobility, but none fell so deservedly regretted as the gallant Lord *Ruffel*.

France taking Advantages of these Broils, and of the Irruption the *Turks* had made upon the Empire; upon the Strength of certain Courts, like that of *Metz*, called Chambers of Re-union, made such grievous Incroachments upon her Neighbours, and started such new Pretensions over and above, upon the poor and defenceless *Spaniards*, as raised the highest Indignation in the Prince; but the most he could do in this Case, was to engage the Emperor, *Sweden*, the Circle of *Franconia*, the States of *Holland*, and some of the free Imperial Cities, in a mutual League of Defence, and herein his Highness was the principal Agent, notwithstanding new Jealousies, raised by the Artifices of *Louvois*, between him and the Town of *Amsterdam*†; which,

* In February 1680, Sir *William* assured the Prince, when he took his Leave of him, that if he found the Scene to be what it appeared at that Distance, he never would charge himself with that Office, and was as good as his Word.

† Count *D'Avaux*, Ambassador of *France*, and *Chudleigh* together, were at the Bottom of this; and it went so far, that that City was about to invite the Prince of *Nassau-Brizeland*, to accept of their Stadholdership; but the Prince and Princess of *Orange* going thither in Person, put a Stop to these Measures.

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which, at last, through his Vigilance, were made up.

The Summer before King *Charles's* Death, the *French* carried Matters to such a Length, as declared sufficiently to the World, how sure they were of being unmolested from that Corner: Besides their possessing themselves of *Courtray*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Luxemburg*, in Defiance to the Peace of *Nimeguen*, they sent a Fleet against *Genoa*, upon a very slight Provocation; ordering no less than a Bombardment, in case the Satisfaction they demanded was not complied with (such a Robber-like Assault as ought to have animated all the Maritime Powers) and compelled the Doge himself, accompanied by a Deputation from the Senate, to come and make his Submission at *Versailles*. The *Spaniards*, at this Juncture, were so fully convinced of the King of *England's* Partiality to *France*, that all the Endeavours of the States to prevail upon them to accept of his Majesty's Umpirage were of no Effect; and at the same Time, the Duke of *Monmouth's* Retreat into that Country, under his Highness's Protection, as it were, was a new Bone of Division between the King and his Nephew.

Upon the Surrender of *Luxemburg*, which the Prince, with so small an Army as he had, could not attempt to relieve, notwithstanding that he took the Field, a Twenty Years Truce

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was concluded; and soon after this King *Charles II* dying without inheritable Issue, the Duke of *York* was proclaimed King, avowedly a *Roman Catholick* himself, but nevertheless sat out with great Promises of maintaining the Liberties and Properties of his Subjects, and the Government of *England*, as by Law established, both in Church and State, not without some Expostulations, for the bad Opinion they had conceived of him during his Brother's Administration.

Among other Expectations the People flattered themselves with, on this Change of Affairs, nothing pleased them more than the Resolution the new King seemed to have taken, of not suffering himself to be influenced by *French* Councils, and of maintaining the Ballance of *Europe* with a steadier Hand than any of his Predecessors. As a Proof of this Indifference with Regard to *France*, he strictly enjoined the Lord *Churchill* (the late Duke of *Marlborough*) when he sent him to notify his Brother's Death, and his Accession at that Court, to give him an exact Account of the Form and Ceremony with which he had been received and treated there, to the End that he himself might make that a Rule for his Reception and Treatment of the Person that should be sent over in the same Character from thence; and he did act accordingly in every Particular, when the Marshal *De Lorge* came over with the *French* King's Compliment,

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Compliment, insomuch that that Prince was not a little surprized at it, which was artfully laid hold on by the Courtiers on this Side, as an Omen of those happy Times they were to look for, under a Ruler, who, at his very first coming to the Throne, observed Measures so directly contrary to what had been practised in the preceeding Reign. The King likewise gave out, that his Intention was to live in perfect Amity with the Prince of *Orange*, his Son-in-Law, and the States of *Holland*; and as a Proof of this, recalled *Chudleigh*, his Brother's Envoy to the *United Provinces* (who had behaved in a most insolent Manner to the Prince, even to the presuming to give Directions to the Officers of the *English* Regiments in Pay of the States) and sent Mr. *Skelton* in his Room.

The first Difficulty his Highness was in, was with Relation to the Duke of *Monmouth*. He foresaw that one of the earliest Requests of the King's to him, would be to withdraw his Protection from that illustrious Exile; and as on the one Hand, he was sensible it would not be decent to deny his Majesty in that Case, so on the other, he was fully satisfied, the States would not quarrel with *England* upon any such Account. It is not impossible neither, as was given out in those Days, but *Skelton* might have private Instructions to seize the Duke's Person, and send him hither a Prisoner; but whether his Highness had any such Apprehension or not, it is

certain he desired the Duke to depart the Dominions of the States ; offering to support him in a Manner suitable to his Quality, if his Grace was inclined to make the Campaign in *Hungary*. The Duke seemed surprized at this Notice, which was given him by M. *Bentinck* (late Earl of *Portland*) on the Part of the Prince ; yet at taking his Leave, promised their Highnesses an inviolable Fidelity to their Interests ; so he retired to *Brussels*, where he knew he could stay no longer than the Return of the Answer to the Marquis of *Grana's* * Dispatches, who, upon the Receipt thereof, ordered him immediately to leave the *Spanish* Dominions, being, it is said, pressed to it moreover, by Letters addressed to himself from King *James*, which charged the Duke with no less than High-Treason.

The Duke hereupon was thinking of a Journey to *Vienna*, or some other *German* Court ; but his evil Destiny prompting him to listen to his own Ambition, and the Flatteries of his Followers, he came privately back into *Holland*, where he took Shipping, with other Exiles, in those Views that proved so fatal to him soon after, persuaded that all former Obligations to the Prince were cancelled by his Highness's dismissing him, and that he had a Party in *England* able to support his Pretension to the Crown.

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* Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*.

Upon the first Notice the Prince had of the Duke's Landing *, his Highness dispatched Monsieur *Bentinck* to the King, with Offers to come over in Person and head his Majesty's Army against the Rebels; but this, through *Skelton's* underhand Insinuations, was rejected; for the King begun to entertain a violent Diffidence of his Highness, ever since the Countenance he had given *Monmouth* at first, and had even insisted upon the Breaking of those *English* Officers in *Dutch* Pay, who had made their Court to, and visited the Duke during his Stay in *Holland*. The Sincerity of the Prince's Intentions, however (and, doubtless, he had a great deal of Reason besides, highly to resent the Duke's Proceedings) was evident, from his sending over immediately the six *English* and *Scotch* Regiments in that Service; but it was not the Business of the King's Ministry to open a Door to so just a Discerner of Things; and they chose rather to expose their Master to the Loss of his Crown, than submit their own pernicious Councils to the Prince of *Orange's* scrutiny. The King, indeed, gave an handsome Turn to the Refusal, telling M. *Bentinck*, *That the common Interest required his Highness to stay where he was, and that the Marks of Zeal he expressed, and which he thanked him for, were not at all seasonable in the present Juncture.*

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* At *Lime* in *Dorsetshire*, the 11th of June 1685.

Not to dwell upon so tragical a Subject, and so universally known, as the unhappy Duke's Catastrophe ; I shall pursue as closely as I can, what has an immediate Reference to the Prince of *Orange*, who received in the same Year 1685, two mortifying Pieces of Intelligence upon the Heels of one another ; the one relating to the common Cause of the Protestants in general, which was the Repeal of the Edict of *Nantes* (the Basis of the Liberties of the reformed Part of *France*) and the Persecution of the People of that Persuasion throughout the Kingdom ; the other of a nearer and more personal Concern to him ; and this was, the Oppressions his own Vassals, in the Principality of *Orange*, labour'd under, from the Troops under Marshal *Tessé*, who was sent to dragoon them, in Contempt to the King of *England's* Guaranteeship of the Treaty of *Nimeguen* ; by which that State had been yielded up to the Prince, in as full a Manner as it had been enjoyed by his Ancestors. His Highness caused two successive Memorials upon the Subject, to be delivered in at the *French* Court, complaining of this Act of Violence, in Terms that became him, but was so far from receiving any Redress, that in a few Months after, *Lewis XIV* united *Orange* to the rest of *Provence*, suppressing all the Rights it had as a distinct Principality. King *James* writ the Princess his Daughter a Letter upon this, to acquaint her, *That he could do no more in that Matter at present, unless*

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less he declared War with France, for which he did not think the Affair was of sufficient Consequence.

In the Year 1686, after the total quelling of *Monmouth's* Rebellion, those fatal Cruelties exercised in the *West*, and so many broad Advances made towards the Introduction of the Popish Religion (as had very much alienated the Hearts of the King's Subjects, even those who had been the most zealous for him at the Beginning) the King having borrowed 400,000 *l.* by the Credit of the Earl of *Rochester*, then High Treasurer, seemed to bend all his Thoughts to the equipping out of a Fleet (the Navy being gone much to Decay) and to have in View some Expedition of great Importance. The Popish Party did not stick to give out, both at Home and Abroad, that the Design was to act in Concert with *France* against *Holland*, and to take Advantage of the bad Condition the *Dutch* Fleet was in; and this, indeed, seemed agreeable to the Politicks of *France*, the Tendency of which had been for many Years to disunite the last King, as well as this, from the Prince of *Orange*, whom that Monarch looked upon as the most formidable Enemy he had, and who, in reality, had been a greater Obstacle to his universal Monarchy Views, than all the Powers of *Europe* together.

The King's entering now into the *French* Measures, and using all possible Methods to introduce Popery, with so little Care to save Appearances, were Matters of no easy Digestion to a Grandson of *England*, Husband to the then Heiress apparent to the Crown; and who was the Bulwark, moreover, of the Protestant Party in *Europe*; and gave him much greater Uneasinesses than all the Reports that were spread abroad, with Regard to the Naval Preparations, and the Design upon *Holland*. His Highness could not but express his Discontent on these Heads, to Persons that had the Honour of his Confidence; and it was (at least, it is so said) by the Advice of some Exiles from hence, that he first thought of putting the *Dutch* Navy in a Condition of Defence; for which the States, upon his representing the Necessity of doing it, allowed immediately the Hundredth-Penny. About this Time certain Persons * were sent over to feel his Pulse, with Regard to the Repeal of the Test Act, and Penal Laws; but tho' his Highness readily consented to a Toleration, in Favour of the Papists, as well as of the Dissenters (since no Man could be more averse to Persecution, of any Sort, than himself) provided it were proposed and passed in Parliament; yet concerning those Points he refused to enter into any Treaty
at

* First by *Pen*, Son to the famous Admiral of that Name, a noted Quaker; then by one *White*, an *Irishman*, who succeeded *Skelton*, and to whom the King of *Spain* had given the Title of Marquis *D'Alberville*, lastly, one *Steward* was directed to write to the Pensionary *Fagel* about it.

at all, saying, *That to give them up, was a plain betraying of the Protestant Religion, especially, since the late Repeal of the Edict of Nantes shewed plainly, how little the Faith of Princes of that Persuasion was to be depended on in Church Affairs.* Nothing could be more nobly disinterested than this, at a Juncture when he had *Carte Blanche* in a Manner from King *James*, and a Promise, moreover, that all his Friends should be put into Posts; but he remained immoveable in his generous Purpose, pursuant to the Tenor of all his Actions, of which he had given many remarkable Proofs, particularly in the Affair of the Peace of *Nimeguen*, when no Temptation could separate him from the Interests of his Allies.

Affairs were now carried that Length in *England*, by Proceedings too fresh in every ones Memory to need a Repetition, that the Breach became every Day wider and wider between the King and his Son-in-Law. His Highness thought fit at last, upon mature Deliberation, to send *M. Dykvelt* to *England*, with Instructions how to talk to his Majesty, to those of the established Church, and to the Dissenters. He was ordered to expostulate decently, but firmly, to the first, upon the Methods he was pursuing both at Home and Abroad, and to endeavour to bring him into a righter Understanding with the Prince of *Orange*. The Second, he was to assure of his Highness's firm Adherence

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Adherence to their Interests upon all Occasions; and the last, he was to dissuade, to the utmost of his Power, from going into the Measures of the Court, which was tampering with them underhand, by a promised Toleration; and to promise them all the Liberty of Conscience imaginable, should the Crown ever devolve upon the Princess of *Orange*. He was also to remove all those bad Expressions which the People had received, through the Artifices of the Court Emissaries, among whom there were some who were even abandoned enough to give out that he was a Papist. *D'Albeville*, the *English* Minister at the *Hague*, who was just arrived a few Days before *Dykvelt's* Departure, did all he could to prevent it, *for he knew well* (says an Author of * those Times) *Dykvelt's Way of penetrating into Secrets, he himself having been often employ'd by him, and well paid for several Discoveries made by his Means.*

D'Albeville made the Prince and the States the sincerest Protestations possible on the King's Part, declaring his Majesty's Resolution of living in Amity with them, and speaking of the Naval Preparations in *England*, as designed for no other End, than the Security of his own Kingdoms, and the Preservation of the Peace of *Europe*. The Reason why he touched upon this, was because he knew that the Fleet of the Provinces was putting in a Condition

* *Bishop Burnet.*

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tion of Defence with the utmost Expedition ; and what he said in Publick to the States, he confirmed to the Prince and Princess in all his private Conferences with them, making this his constant Topick besides, “ That as it was the
 “ farthest from his Majesty’s Thoughts to wrong
 “ her Royal Highness in her Right of Succession ; so she would reap the Advantage in
 “ her Turn, of all that the King was now doing
 “ to assert the Prerogatives of the Crown. He
 “ likewise exaggerated to an high Degree, the
 “ King’s Abhorrence of the Repeal of the
 “ Edict of *Nants*, and generous Relief of the
 “ *French* Protestants that had taken Sanctuary
 “ in his Dominions, by allowing large Collections to be made for them ; and, in short,
 “ said Word for Word almost to their Highnesses, what the King and his Ministers were
 “ telling M. *Dykvelt* in *London*.” They thought to lull the Prince’s Vigilance asleep by this Means, till the Parliament should assemble ; in which, by a very wrong Calculation, owing partly to the equivocal Answers of many of the Members that were closeted, they depended upon a great Majority.

The Prince and Princess answered to all these delusive Speeches, *That they were fixed in the Principle of opposing Persecution in Matters of Conscience, but yet could not think it reasonable that Papists should sit in Parliament, or serve in publick Trusts : The restless Spirit of some of that*
Persuasion

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Persuasion (they said) and of their Clergy in particular, shewed they could never be satisfied, till they were absolute Masters; and the Power they had over the King's Spirit, in making him forget what he had promised upon his Accession to the Crown, gave but too just a Ground for Jealousy: They thought the Prerogative as limited by Law, was large enough, and were apprehensive that such Attacks upon the Constitution might in Time drive the Nation into a Commonwealth. This, and much more to the same Effect, was the Substance of the general Answers that were made to D'Albeville; and the Princess in particular spoke with such Firmness on these Occasions in all their Conference, that he writ Word to the King, she was more untractable on those Matters, than the Prince himself. Dykvelt found his Majesty no less obstinate in the pursuit of his Point on the other Hand, being told by him, That as he was the Head of the Family, the Prince of Orange ought to comply with his Measures; but instead of that Compliance, he had always met with the greatest Opposition from him. Dykvelt answered to this Particular, with saying, That his Highness could not carry his Compliance so far as to give up his Religion to the King's Pleasure, but in all other Respects, had shewed a ready Submission to his Will; representing withal, How silent he had been, with Regard to the Violation of the Peace of Nimeguen, in the Affair of Orange, purely because he found his Majesty not inclined to espouse his Interest in that Matter. It was

was in vain this prudent Minister was pressed upon the same Account by my Lord *Sunderland*, and others of the Ministry, who would have persuaded him, that if the Prince would abate something of this Steadiness, the King would go into close Measures with him against *France*; for he still remained peremptory in all his Answers; and in the Interim, the whole Designs of the Priests came accidentally to Light, by the Means of a Letter writ from a Jesuit at *Liege*, to some of his Brethren at *Friburg* in *Switzerland*, Copies of which having fallen into the Hands of certain Protestant Divines in those Parts, the Ambassador himself had one of them sent over, which he did not stick to give the King a Copy of. He took, and promised to read it, saying, *He should soon see whether it was not an Artifice to render him more odious*; but dropped the Affair, and never mentioned it afterwards; and this was a tacit Confession to *Dykvelt*, that the Letter was not the Forgery they would have had it pass for. In this manner both Negotiations ended, with as little Effect, the one as the other, *D'Albeville's* at the *Hague*, and *Dykvelt's* in *London*.

The Ambassador last mentioned had, as we observed before, two different Instructions; the one how he should behave with Regard to the Court, the other, how he should carry it to the People. He had Meetings often, to this End,

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with the Heads* of the Protestant, or Country Party, which were mostly at the Earl of *Shrewsbury's*, and there was the Declaration first drawn up; upon which, these Lords and Gentlemen desired, and advised the Prince to come over. While these Preludes to the happy Revolution were carried on with an inviolable Secrecy on this Side, the Prince was no less close and expeditious on the other, in making all possible Preparations by Sea and Land, and establishing such Alliances in *Germany*, as might countenance the Enterprize he had in View, and, at the same Time, cut off, from King *James*, whatever Succours he might expect from Abroad. The King, indeed (besides the good Terms he was in with *France*) had already made a Treaty with *Spain*, upon which Score he thought himself secure against any Opposition from the other Branch of the House of *Austria*, whenever he should come to throw off the Mask, and openly attempt the Introduction of Popery.

Scotland was the Scene of the first Part of this fatal Experiment; thither the King sent a Proclamation of Indulgence; in the Preamble of which it was artfully set forth, that all his Subjects were obliged to obey him without Reserve. This Indulgence carried, at first, a very popular

* The Marquis of *Halifax*, the Earls of *Shrewsbury*, *Devonshire*, *Danby*, and *Nottingham*, Lords *Mordaunt* (now Earl of *Peterborough*) and *Lumley*; *Compton*, Bishop of *London*; the Admirals *Herbert* and *Russel*, &c.

popular Aspect with those who were not quick-sighted enough to discover the Snake in the Grass; for at the same Time that it slackened all the rigid Laws made in former Reigns against the Presbyterians, it took off all those Disabilities the *Roman* Catholicks were legally under, and capacitated them to enjoy Employments and Benefices. This exposed the King to a great deal of Censure, inasmuch as by Virtue of it he raised his Power to a Pitch, not only of suspending, but of repealing Laws, and of enacting new ones by his own Authority, and claimed a Power to which an implicit Obedience was to be paid, in a manner even more absolute than *Philip II* had done in the *Netherlands*, when the Prince's glorious Great-Grandfather gave Life and Spirit to that just Revolt; because that Monarch, as tyrannical as he was, never pretended that his Subjects were to obey him without Reserve; for every Prince that believes Religion, must also be persuaded, that there are Reserves in Obedience, in case the Command laid upon the Subject should be contrary to the Laws of God. To this Length was that unhappy Prince carried, tho', of himself, not the worst natured Man living, partly by his Uxoriousness to his Queen, a Woman who had sucked in all the Violence of *Italian* Bigotry with her Milk, and partly by those Church-Fomenters he had about him, who, without considering the King's Share of the Stake, were resolved to hazard their All on the Game.

Upon the bad Success this first Proclamation met with (for the *Scotch* were no ways to be cajoled into a Consent of a Repeal of the Tests and Penal Laws) a new one, more cautiously drawn up, was sent down, but to as little Purpose, notwithstanding the loyal Addresses that were made to the King upon that Occasion; and soon after came out, in *England*, the famous *Liberty of Conscience* Declaration, less lyable to Exceptions, indeed, than the *Scotch* one had been, but interspersed with certain Hints notwithstanding, not at all agreeable to those of the established Church, or that wished well to their Country.

Here it is remarkable enough, that the *English* Dissenters, who had always reproached the Church Party with a mean Submission to the Court, fell, many of them, into the most abject Strain of Flattery imaginable, magnifying the King's Mercy and Favour, making great Protestations of Fidelity and Gratitude; and promised their utmost Endeavours to have such Representatives chose in Parliament, as should concur with the King in enacting the Toleration his Majesty had engag'd for: This produced such a seeming good Understanding between the Court and that Party, that the King himself would often talk of the Sufferings of the Dissenters from the Church of *England* (which certainly sounded odd from a Son of *Charles I*) and threw upon

upon them all the Odium of the long Delay of a Toleration, proceeding even so far as to cause Enquiries to be made into all the vexatious Suits, carried on against the Dissenters in the Ecclesiastical Courts. This Encouragement occasioned the publishing of many virulent Books, to which the Clergy very prudently made no Reply, so the Matter was dropped, to the great Concern of the Popish Party, which thought to have reap'd great Advantages from the Controversy. It cannot be disowned, at the same Time, that some of our Bishops, being gained over by the Court, carried their Complaisance to a scandalous Pitch, promoting Addresses of Thanks to the King, for his Promises made in the late Declaration to maintain the Church of *England*, tho' nothing was visibly so much the Aim of it, as the Destruction of the Church: This succeeded so ill, that the Bishop of *Oxford* got but one Clergyman in his whole Diocese to concur with him; the Generality of that Body behaving with a Steadiness that became their Order, and centring their Views, as well as the Patriot Part of the Laity, in the only Means, under God, for their Deliverance, the Prince of *Orange*.

Nothing, except a downright Persecution, could, at this Time more effectually, have increased the ill Blood in the Nation, than the solemn Reception given at *Windsor* to the Pope's Nuncio, before the King went his

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Western Progress, in Defiance to a Law of *Edward VI's* Time, which made * it a Kind of Forfeiture of the Crown ; and here we cannot sufficiently applaud the Behaviour of a Nobleman of the first Rank † who chose to incur the King's Displeasure, and to lose all his Employments, rather than descend so far below the Dignity of an *English* Peer, and the Character of a good Protestant, as to usher into the Royal Presence, a Minister whom our Laws and Religion forbid us to acknowledge.

The only Hope of the Protestants was now centered in the King's two Daughters, but chiefly in the eldest, and nearest to the Crown, who was most out of her Father's Reach, and consequently less exposed to Attacks from the Side of the Church of *Rome* ; not but that the youngest (Princess *Anne*) seemed very steady and regular in her Devotions, and to have the Protestant Interest altogether at Heart ; but as the People that were about her, were all placed there by the King and Queen, those Demonstrations of her Zeal were thought not to be depended upon, if the Assaults on her Principles were made by dexterous Persons, who could throw Jealousies between her and her Sister, and improve upon that Indulgence which the King affected to shew her in so particular a Manner.

* Queen *Mary I* apprehended it to be no less, when she repealed all those Laws, before she durst give Audience to Cardinal *Poul*, who, till then, was obliged to stay in *Flanders*.

† The Duke of *Somerset*.

The King now resolved to save Appearances no longer, and thinking his Power and Interest sufficient to introduce Popery with an high Hand, notwithstanding the general Coolness the People had received him with, in his Tour round the West, began by tampering with the Princess of *Orange*, with Regard to Religious Matters; this he did in a long Letter, which he caused to be delivered to her by *D'Albeville*; in which he endeavoured his utmost, if not to bring her Royal Highness to the *Roman* Catholick Persuasion, at least, to induce her to think favourably of those that were of it; the Stress of his Argument lying upon this, That the Dissenters had full as good Grounds to be Separatists from the Church of *England*, as these latter had to be so from the Church of *Rome*. The Princess, at the same Time that she answered this Letter, with all the Respect due to a King and a Father, defended herself from the Attack, with so much Force of Argument, as made the Popish Party see, to use a learned Author's own Words, who had the Honour to know her well, that *she understood her Religion as well as she loved it*.

To pass by the new Batteries that were play'd at the Prince and Princess, with Regard to the Repeal of the Test and Penal Laws, in order to overcome their Steadiness, the King had now given the bad Opinion the Protestants entertained

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of him, the last finishing Stroke, first by his avowed Partiality to Father *Petre*, a rigid Jesuit, whom he made a Privy-Counsellor ; and, Secondly, by sending my Lord *Castlemain* in a publick Character to *Rome*, a Thing that had not been seen practised since the Days of Queen *Mary*. The Purport of this Lord's Embassy, was of a most singular Nature, in Respect to other Branches of his Commission, as well as to that main one of the Compliment, and Mark of Filial Obedience to the Pope ; for his Instructions were not only to ask a Cardinal's Cap for *Petre* (in direct Opposition to Cardinal *Howard's* Advice) but likewise to press the See of *Rome* to an Accommodation with the Court of *France* *, to the End, that that Monarch, in Concert with the King of *England*, might enter upon the great Work of extirpating Heresy, beginning by the *Dutch*, upon whom, *Castlemain* said, those Powers would fall without any Declaration of War, inasmuch, as they considered them no better than a Company of Rebels and Pirates, that had not a Right to the Formalities above-mentioned, like free Princes and legitimate States. Not only many of the Sacred College were shocked † at a Proposal of the Nature of this last, but even the Pope himself, who had nothing of the persecuting Principle in him, and who, moreover, hated

* The Dispute between them was upon the Subject of *Translating*, or certain Privileges of Ambassadors.

† Cardinal *Gibo* revealed this Design to the Emperor, who acquainted the Prince with it.

hated the Jesuits, insomuch, that the Embassador, who nad disgusted them all, brought Home nothing with him, but the Scandal and Hazard of having acted in open Defiance to the Laws, which made such a Commission High-Treason; a few Relicks; and the Copper-Plates of his Coaches and Equipages, which were the most magnificent that had been seen there in the Memory of Man.

D'Albeville, spirited up by the Jesuits, whose Tool he actually was, seemed now so sanguine upon the on Matter, and was so very unguarded, that on his Return to the *Hague*, in the Beginning of the Year 1688, he did not stick publickly to give out (what a wiser Man would have suppressed, had he believed it) that what was called the Church of *England*, was now upon its last Legs, and could not subsist two Years longer; nay, he carried his Weakness to that Length, as to tell the Prince of *Orange*, who was speaking to him one Day about the Religious Regard, that Princes owe to their Word, especially when sanctified by an Oath, *that there were Occasions upon which it was lawful for Princes to break thro' what they had promised tho' in the most sacred and solemn Manner.* His Folly and Frankness in this was a plain Declaration of what the King and the Priests wanted to be at, and rendered him, in a short Time, so contemptible, that *D'Avaux*, the *French* Minister himself, at that Place, knew

knew not how to excuse, or to bear with him.

The invincible Constancy, both of the Prince and the Princess, in the great Matter of the Test and Penal Laws, put the Court upon a last, and, indeed, a scandalous Shift, which was the giving out, through the Nation, underhand, with all the Art and Industry the Party was capable of, that their Highnesses had given their Approbation to the Repeal of those Acts; and Letters were procured from the *Hague* itself to this Purpose; which detestable Falshood no sooner reached the Ears of the Prince, but in his own Justification, he caused M. *Fagel*, the Grand Pensionary's, Answer the Year before to one *Steward* (who, by order from his Majesty, had writ upon that Subject to that Gentleman his Acquaintance) to be made publick; and this dispelled all the Fears the Church Party were under, without offending the Dissenters, who were convinced, in the same Letter, of his Highness's good Intentions towards them: Nay, the reasonable Part of the Lay-Papists themselves, were so far from being dissatisfied with *Fagel's* Letter, in which the Prince's Readiness was expressed to agree to any Method that should cover them from the Severity of former Laws, that they made loud Complaints against those ambitious Priests, and hungry Courtiers, who were resolved, tho' a Freedom of Exercise was offered them, to expose them
to

to all the Rigour of Statutes yet in Force, rather than lay aside their aspiring Views, and not give full Scope to their pernicious Projects. The Court, convinced of the Hurt they received from this Letter, would fain have passed it off for an Imposture; but finding the Publick not to be driven into such a Belief, they then vented all their Malice upon the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, the King himself not refraining from the warmest and severest Expressions, even in the Presence of Foreign Ministers, and seeming fully determined to make them both feel the utmost Weight of his Indignation.

The first angry Step taken by him, after these bitter Declarations, was the recalling of the six *English* and *Scotch* Regiments, in the Pay of the States General, which had been lent his Majesty, not without some Difficulty, on the Side of certain of the Members of that Body, by the Prince's strong Intercession, at the Time of *Monmouth's* Invasion. As several of the Officers of these Corps were *Roman* Catholics (for there was no Distinction made upon Account of Religion) the King (during their Stay in *England* on that Occasion) had given these particular Marks of his Favour, which had encouraged them to form into Parties, to the great Discontent of the Protestants among them, at their Return to *Holland*; which gave his Highness no small Uneasiness, as he foresaw, especially, that

that he might soon stand in need of their Service.

This Demand of the King's, helped the Prince out of the great Difficulty he was in on that Score ; for tho' the States, who paid these Regiments, and had enlisted them in their Service, without any Capitulation, very justly pretended a Right to detain them, yet they gave Orders, at his Highness's Request, that all such as had a Mind to ask their *Congé*, should have it given them freely ; in pursuance to which Order, thirty or forty asked and obtained their *Congé*, which eased the Prince of so many Thorns in his Side ; after which the said *Corps* were new modelled, entirely to his Highness's Satisfaction, and proved of singular Use to him.

Petre, the most furious, tho' at the same Time the weakest of Incendiaries, in order to do something to merit the Cardinals Cap, which had been refused him once, was now driving the King to the very Brink of the Precipice, by Actions the most destructive of the Laws and Liberties of his People, and that manifestly tended to render his Government as odious as possible. The most violent one of all, was the Imprisonment of such among the Bishops as had the Courage, and the Interest of the Protestant Religion enough at Heart, to petition his Majesty against a new Declaration he had

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had published, with Regard to the Affair of the Repeal. This famous Order of Council was founded upon the unheard-of Claim of a dispensing Power, the End of which was to render him the most arbitrary Prince in *Europe*.

This was considered every where as a peremptory Trial of Skill, between the King and the Church of *England*, and being decided in Favour of the latter, to the incredible Disappointment of the Jesuitical Faction, convinced all the Protestants, and Well-wishers to their Country, that in order to prevent any new Violences of this Sort, especially as the King had then an Army, consisting of Papists in a great Measure, at the very Gates of *London*, as it were, they could turn their Eyes upon no Person so likely to work their Deliverance as the Prince of *Orange*.

The Heads of the Protestant Party, who, as we have said before, had those frequent Conferences with M. *Dykvelt*, left no Stone unturned to improve this good Disposition in the People, and empowered Admiral * *Russel*, a Man descended of the *Bedford* Family, of known Honour, Probity and Steadiness, who was then going over to *Holland* (under Pretence of a Visit to

* The Lord *Mordaunt*, who had been over to visit the Prince, with Leave from the King, two Years before, had broke the first Ice of this Affair; the Earl of *Shrewsbury* went over the Year after, and gave his Highness a true State of Affairs; but *Russel* was the first that made any Overtures by Authority.

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to a Sister he had there) to acquaint the Prince with their Sentiments, with all imaginable Freedom ; and to get a positive Answer, concerning what they were to hope for at his Hands in a Time of such Distress and Confusion.

The Prince's Answer to this Proposal of the Admiral, was worthy of that consummate Prudence that was the Rule of all his Councils. He complied with the Request, but coolly and conditionally ; that is, with a Proviso, *That those Lords and Gentlemen invited him, not in their own Names alone, but in the Names of the Generality of the Lords and Commons* (to take away the least Shadow of Forwardness or Ambition on his Side, the publick Good being the only Thing aimed at) and said, *He believed, in that Case, he could be in Readiness about the End of September ; but he must satisfy his Honour and his Conscience before he could enter upon a Design, the Miscarriage of which, would bring inevitable Ruin both upon England and Holland, therefore he expected formal and direct Invitations.*

The Prince accordingly set himself with great Application to provide against the intended Expedition, and the old Elector of *Brandenburg* (a Prince too apt to change Sides) happening to die at that Juncture, he sent *M. Bentinck* with a Compliment to his Son and Successor, and a Commission withal to desire his Assistance in the Enterprize, now on Foot, which the
new

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new Elector readily promised, offering even more than was asked of him. 9000 Foot, and 4000 Horse and Dragoons, were therefore immediately hastened for this Embarkation, the States, who deprived themselves of so considerable a Body of Men, having that Want made up to them, on the other Hand, by the above-mentioned Elector, the Landgrave of *Hesse*, and the Duke of *Lunenburg* and *Zell*, which last was a cordial Friend to the Prince upon all Occasions.

To give a Colour to these Intrigues and Preparations, the Elector of *Cologne's* Death fell out at that Time very opportunely, by occasioning such Differences between *France* and the Emperor, as could not but alarm all their Neighbours, and the States more particularly, into necessary Provisions for their Security; for, could the *French* have fixed themselves in the Territory of *Cologne*, as was their great Aim, nothing could have obstructed that Monarch's Passage into *Holland* and *Flanders* when he had pleased, and all the Provinces upon the *Rhine* had lain at his Mercy; as this justified the Increase of the States Land Forces, so did it likewise countenance the Vigour with which the Naval Preparations were carried on; and thus all the Measures that were taken in *Holland*, from *June* to *September*, seemed owing to such natural Causes, through the extreme Management

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nagement of those that were in the Secret, that, for some Time, neither *France* nor *England* took the least Umbrage.

As there was no Man in *England* more in the Prince's Esteem, at that Time, than Mr. *Sidney* (Brother to the Earl of *Leicester*, and to that Martyr of Liberty *Algernoon Sidney*) so was he at his Highness's particular Request; the Person in whom the whole Conduct of the Affair was chiefly deposited (tho' his natural Indolence obliged him to take in Coadjutors) and he it was therefore, that towards the middle of *September*, went over to the *Hague*, with full and ample Instructions (upon the Heels of the Earl of *Sbrewsbury* and *Russel*, who went over a little before) and brought over the Plan of a Declaration, drawn up by the Earl of *Danby*. It was much about this Time that the first Rumour of the real Intent of the *Dutch* Preparations was spread abroad; *France* taking the Alarm first, which was communicated from thence to *England*.

King *James*, upon this, ordered fourteen Sail of Men of War to be immediately put to Sea, with some Fireships; giving the Command of his Squadron to the Lord *Dartmouth*, an Officer of Worth, who had been long in his Service, and Confidence, and who resolved to stick by him at all Hazards, tho' he disapproved, in the main, of the Measures of the Court.

Here

Here it must needs be said, to the Honour of the Protestant Part of the Army, that, contrary to what might have been expected from Gentlemen of that Cloth, they expressed as generous a Detestation of the Court-Measures, in a Manner truly becoming *Englishmen*, as the most zealous and uncorrupted of their Fellow-Subjects could do, refusing obstinately the *Irish* Recruits, that would have been forced upon them, even to the laying down of their Commissions, when they found the King absolutely determined upon that unwarrantable Step.

Most of the Popish Lords of the Council, were, upon this Disappointment, for accepting, without Hesitation, the *French* King's Offer of Troops, which were to be landed at *Portsmouth*, to the Number of 14 or 15,000, and followed by as many more afterwards as Occasion should require, that Place being proposed to remain in the Hands of that Crown, by way of keeping the Communication open; but this met with an Opposition from the Earl of *Sunderland*, who, till then, had gone into most of the Measures of the Court, and whose Change of Religion had acquired him a vast Share of the Royal Favour. The King, who did not apprehend Matters to be any thing so near a Crisis, appeared pretty indifferent in this Debate; nor did *France* push the Affair with that Vigour they might, depending, all along, upon a downright Civil War

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in *England*, when it would be time enough for them to send their Troops over. The Embassador from that Court, *Barillon*, was so much a Stranger to the Disposition of the People at that Time, that he himself contributed more than any Man, to make this Scheme drop; for which, on his Return home, soon after, he met that cool Reception that broke his Heart.

It is credibly reported, that the first Intimation of the Design of the Armament of the States, was given by one *Veras*, a Gentleman of *Geneva*, who, after having been in some Credit with the Prince of *Orange*, and Captain of his Guards, had been banished by the States, for a certain Jealousy and Disgust his Behaviour had given. This Man, who had Obligations to *Skelton*, at that Time the King's Envoy at the *French* Court, was upon his Journey home through *Germany* (for he durst not go through *France*, upon the Account of a Man he had formerly killed there in a Duel) when being apprized of the great Preparations the *Dutch* were making, he writ to that Minister for Leave to come over to *England*, where he had Matters of the highest Importance to reveal to his Majesty: The King was, however, so over secure in the Strength of his Navy and Troops, and the Alliance of *France* together, that no satisfactory Answer was made to *Skelton's* pressing Representations upon this Head; and *Van Sitters*, the *Dutch* Embassador in *London*, contributed

buted not a little to improve the Lethargy the Court was in, by hinting to the King and his Ministers, that the Preparations the States were making, seemed to threaten *France* rather than *England*. The People, notwithstanding, were generally persuaded of the true Design of the Expedition, and *D'Albeville*, then returned from the *Hague*, who would have played the Politician, and reasoned them out of this Belief, became a publick Jest for his Pains. He was sent back indeed, at last, with Orders to deliver in a Memorial to the States, to learn of them the Meaning of such surprizing Preparations so late in the Year; but received no Answer either one way or other.

The *French* King, who could not but wonder at this supine Indolence of the *English* Court, in a Case where they were so nearly concerned, caused his Minister at the *Hague* to signify to the States, that as he was perfectly informed of their Design, so his Alliances with *England* obliged him to look upon every Attempt against that Crown, as an Invasion of his own. This open Avowal from *France* of what was a State-Secret hitherto, threw King *James* and his Ministers into great Perplexity, as having denied, all along, that there was any such Alliance concluded: Nay, *D'Albeville* did not stick to affirm the contrary, himself, to the States, even after the Declaration that had been made by Count *D'Avaux*, no more than did the King his Ma-

fter to the *Dutch* Embaffador in *London*. *Skelton* bore all the Blame of having this Article inferted in the *French* Minifter's Memorial, was accused of having done it without Authority, recalled, and committed Prifoner to the Tower. 'Tis true, his Difgrace was fhort ; for, in a few Weeks, he was not only enlarged, but made Lieutenant of that very Place ; a fufficient Demonftration that it was all a Blind, efpecially as *D'Avaux* had owned the Alliance in fo folemn a Manner, without the leaft Mark of his Principal's Difpleafure, which he certainly muft have received, had he not acted conformably to his Inftuctions.

The Defign of the Expedition began now to be publickly known; the States, who had cloaked their Preparations hitherto, with the Pretence of fecuring themfelves againft *France*, uſing no farther Referve upon that Account, not even to *D'Albeville*, who was told moreover, by the Penſionary *Fagel*, that if *Van Sitters* had difowned it in *England*, he had acted of his own Head, and without Authority.

The King was thunder-ftuck when this News reached him, efpecially when he came to know that feveral Noblemen and Gentlemen were lurking in *Holland*, in the View of imbarcking with the Prince on board the Fleet. This produced an immediate Change in all the Meafures for introducing Popery: The Proteſtants
were

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were as much careffed, as they had been brow-beaten a few Days before ; the Bishops were cajolled ; Charters restored ; Church of *England* Men put in Places of Trust ; and, to sum up all, a new Memorial was presented the States General, in which the King positively disowned any Alliance with *France*, exprefing the greateft Readinefs imaginable to concur with their High Mightineffes, towards the maintaining the Peace of *Nimeguen*, and the twenty Years Truce, concluded in 1684.

The City of *Cologn* having, about this Time, accepted of the Garrison that the Emperor sent thither, to defend it from the Insults of the *French* : The Security the States were in by this Means, on that Side, eafed the Prince of *Orange* of all his Apprehenfions, for the Winter at leaft, and enabled him to purfue the great Project he had in Hand (for it was determined not to leave thofe Provinces expofed) and accordingly he fitted out a Fleet of fifty Sail, moft of them third or fourth Rates, commanded by *Dutch* Officers, but under *Herbert*, as Lieutenant Admiral General, representing the Prince,; which was forced to be complied with, not to difguft that Officer (tho' neither agreeable to the *Dutch*, nor to his Highnefs himfelf) efpecially as it was pretended to be the moft proper Expedient for bringing over the *Engliſh* Fleet. The Transports for the Land Forces amounted to about 500, under this great Convoy, and

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were to contain, over and above the said Troops, which were about 13,000, a great Number of Volunteers, Servants, Horses, and 20,000 spare Arms; and much about the Time they were to sail, came out the famous Declaration* of the Prince, which was signed and sealed on the 10th of *October*, and with it the Prince sent circular Letters all over *England*, requiring the Soldiers, Sailors, and all other Persons whatsoever, to come in to him. A little before the Fleet was in Readiness, Mr. *Sidney* brought the Prince new Letters from the Lords and Gentlemen abovementioned, in which he received fresh Assurances of their Zeal, and that what they wrote was the universal Sense of the wise and good Part of the Nation. They likewise sent his Highness a Scheme at the same Time, with regard to the Fleet and the Army they would have him bring over, and pressed him extremely to take along with him Marshal *Schomberg* (who having quitted *France*, upon the Score of his Religion, was now in the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Service) as being a General of great Reputation; because in such an Enterprize it was running too great a Risque to hazard all upon one single Life. With this Part of their Request the Prince complied very willingly, having obtained the Elector's Consent for the Marshals,

* Bishop *Burnet* owns the shortning of this Declaration, which, he says, was too prolix, as the Prince had drawn it up; and also his correcting the other for *Scotland*, which had been drawn up by certain Ministers of that Nation, then at the *Hague*, with too seeming a Partiality for the Presbyterians,

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Marshals accompanying him, but as to the Proposals with regard to the Fleet and Army, which they advised him to separate, he thought fit to excuse himself, representing the Danger of a divided Force in an Attempt of this Importance.

One of the main Points now was, how Money should be raised for so chargeable an Expedition. This the *French* Ambassador had his Eye upon, reckoning that whenever any thing relating to it should be moved, it would then be easy to raise an Opposition, or at least to create a Delay. But this was obviated by *Fagel's* Foresight, who had proposed the raising of four Millions of Guilders, upon the Pretence of the Troubles arising on Account of *Cologn*, which rendered it absolutely necessary to repair the Places belonging to the States on the *Rhine* and the *Iffel*, that were in a very bad Condition.

The States agreed to this, a Fund being accordingly created for the Interest of that Capital, which was ordered to be taken up by Loan, and brought in in four Days Time; and, upon a second Motion, that the said Money should be lent the Prince of *Orange*; it was passed in the General Assembly of the States, without any Opposition, to the Amazement of all that saw it, this being the first Vote, of such a Nature, that had ever been unanimously agreed

to, either at the *Hague*, or in any of the other *Dutch Towns*: But *Fagel*, who was remarkable for a particular Vehemence of Speech, as well as an Art of moving the Passions, having before disposed the Deputies of the *Towns*, by all the most popular Topicks, to consent to this Loan (which was the only Means, as he said, to preserve them from the Calamity of their persecuted Brethren in *France*) they had returned to their Homes full of this Zeal, and disposed the People to an hearty Approbation of, and Concurrence in this Design. Doctor *Burnet*, who was at that Time in *Holland*, observes, very aptly, that notwithstanding the Limitation of the Power of the Clergy in those Provinces, where they have no more Authority, properly, than what the States think fit to allow them, it is incredible what Sway they had at that Juncture, and how generally they influenced the People into an hearty Approbation of the Scheme, and a cheerfull Concurrence in supplying his Highness with all that he stood in Need of. A Religious and Christian Motive prevailed, no doubt, with a great many; and with those that had no Religion, a Political one answered the same End, as they saw a War kindled in the Empire by the *French* on the one Hand, and, on the other, an Alliance between the two Crowns of *France* and *England*, which, if not crushed in the Embryo, must, in all likelihood, end in the Ruin of their Country.

An Undertaking so well concerted, narrowly miss'd being defeated in its Birth, by the Opposition of the Winds and Weather, which proved so stormy for many Days, that People were under no small Apprehensions for Admiral *Herbert*, who had ventured to Sea with the Fleet, in order to look out for the *English* Squadron, off of the *Downs*, to see whether they would hazard an Engagement, or come over to him.

While the Prospect at the *Hague* was none of the pleasanter, upon this Account, another *Contretemps* happened, which had like to have spoiled all, and that was the Factions arisen among the *English*, who were there in great Numbers, many having flocked thither, not from *England* alone, but from *Germany*, *France*, and other Parts: The Chief of the Incendiaries, in this Case, was one *Wildman*, who, from being an Agitator in *Cromwell's* Army, was now become a staunch Advocate for the Prerogative of the Crown, and the dispensing Power of Kings, justifying by Authority from Law, the Violations upon the Liberties of the People in the preceeding Reigns. His Design in this, was deep and malicious; he saw that, as the Declaration was drawn, the Church Party would come in one and all, and be well received by the Prince; but he, who designed nothing less than a good Harmony between his Highness and

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and them, studied to make the Prince alter it, and declare against those Grievances, in which many of them were concerned, and which some of them had promoted (waving the Point of the dispensing Power) for how could they, he said, who had all along supported that Prerogative, and stretched the Rights of the Crown to the utmost, come into the Scheme of the Prince of *Orange*, which was the subverting of that very Power? To this System *Wildman* got over a great many Profelytes, among whom were the Earl of *Macclesfield*, and the Lord *Mordaunt*; but was strenuously opposed by the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, Mr. *Sidney*, Admiral *Russel*, &c. who urged, that the Declaration was to be so conceived as to draw in the whole Body of the Nation, which was alarmed at the dispensing Power; that it would seem very strange to see an Invasion set on Foot, in which this was not set forth as the main Foundation of it; that, if no Notice were taken of the ill Designs of the Court, especially in the late Tryal of the Bishops, this Omission would be infallibly laid hold on, by the Enemies of his Highness, to possess the People with a Notion of ambitious Designs in him, and not the least Regard to their Welfare; that all the Prince could do, at this Time, was to represent the present publick Grievances, in the same Light they were transmitted to him by those who had invited him over; that the Discussion of what was Law, was to be left to an *English* Parliament; and that,

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that, to enter upon Grievances of the last Reign, would be the Means, not only of carrying all the High-Church Party, but even the Army itself, entirely over to the King. Upon the Whole, it was thought proper to alter some few Expressions in the first Draught, to leave out some Circumstances, and to republish the Declaration with these Amendments.

In the beginning of *October*, the Troops having marched from *Nimeguen*, were put on board the Transports in the *Zuyderzee*, with an amazing Expedition, thro' the great Care of the Persons * who had been previously entrusted with the Management of that Affair; and on the 16th of the same Month, O. S. the Prince went into the Assembly of the States General, to take his Leave of them. He expressed himself, upon that Occasion, in such a Manner, as drew Tears from all their Eyes; saying, “ How
 “ extreme sensible he was of the Kindness they
 “ had shewed him upon so many Occasions:
 “ That he had served them faithfully ever since
 “ they had trusted him with the Government,
 “ having never any End but the Good of his
 “ Country; that if, at any Time, he had
 “ erred in his Judgment, yet his Heart had
 “ ever been set upon their Safety and Prospe-
 “ rity; that he took God to witness, he went
 “ to *England* with no other Views, besides
 “ those he had set forth in his Declaration;
 “ that

* *M. Bentink, Dykvelt, and Van Hulst.*

“ that he did not know how Divine Providence
 “ would dispose of his Person, but threw himself,
 “ and the Justice of his Cause, wholly upon it ;
 “ and that, let that happen as it might, he
 “ recommended to them, next to the Care of
 “ their Country, the Princess his Consort, in a
 “ most particular Manner ; concluding with
 “ Assurances of her Affection to them, no-
 “ thing inferior to that she bore *England*, and
 “ his firm Hopes of their vouchsafing her their
 “ Protection in Case he himself were taken off.”

After this, he took his Farewel of all the Deputies
 separately ; preserving his usual Temper and
 Phlegm, amidst all their Demonstrations of
 Sorrow ; and proceeding for *Helvoetsluys*, where
 three Days were lost in re-victualling the Fleet,
 set Sail on the 19th, O. S. but the Wind com-
 ing contrary, and very violent, after a long and
 vain Attempt to ride out the Storm, he was driven
 back again into the *Maes* ; several of the Ships
 being extremely shattered, and abundance of
 Horses smothered under the Decks, for want
 of Air, tho’ no Damage was received by the
 Men. Whilst the Courts of *France* and *England*
 triumphed at this Disappointment, giving it a
 Turn, as if the Hand of Providence had visibly
 designed the Overthrow of their Enemies ; the
 States, undiscouraged by so ominous a Beginning,
 gave the necessary Orders for refitting the Fleet
 anew ; the Princess of *Orange* continuing, in the
 mean Time, in a constant Exercise of Piety,
 with

with that Calmness and Resignation, that became such a truly Christian Heroine.

The Court of *England* convinced now of the Folly of disguising their Fears any farther, entered into deep Consultations how to obviate the Mischiefs which their illegal Proceedings had brought upon their Heads. Measures of the utmost Violence were now proposed by the zealous Papists of the Council, such as seizing all suspected Persons, which were strongly opposed by the Earl of *Sunderland*, who advised the King to such popular Acts, as might lay the present Ferment a little; he was thereupon charged by the opposite Party with counselling his Master to his Destruction, and soon after removed from all his Employments.

In the mean Time, the King, by the Arrival of the Regiments from *Scotland* and *Ireland*, had increased his Forces to 30,000 Horse, Dragoons, and Foot; and having moreover a strong Fleet at Sea, seemed pretty secure of averting the impending Danger; but thought it adviseable, nevertheless, to send for the Bishops, to whom he set forth the Injustice of the Prince of *Orange's* Designs, making new Assurances of his Protection to the Church of *England*, and protesting, that his Scheme had never gone beyond an equal Liberty of Conscience, and concluded with desiring they would declare their Abhorrence of the Prince's Invasion, and assist him

him with their Councils to the utmost of their Power.

To this their Lordships returned a wise and modest, but firm Answer, declining the Point of *Abhorrence*, touching upon the Affair of *Magdalen College in Oxford*, to which Papists had been introduced by main Force, and other unwarrantable Proceedings, which they begged might be reversed, as well as the Law put into its old Channel ; but they gave the greatest Proof of their right Judgment in the Church Office they were required to compose upon the present Emergency, which was drawn up in such a Manner, that the Prince's most zealous Well-wishers might have joined in the Prayers without Scruple.

The King, who had entered upon some popular Measures on the first Rumour of the Prince's being put to Sea ; upon a second Advice, that his Fleet was blown back, gave such visible Proofs, that what he had done, had been purely to comply with Necessity ; that the Protestants, those of the Church of *England* especially, could not forbear being pretty open in their Wishes, for what they called a *Protestant Wind*, expressing a most hearty Contempt of the few faint Steps lately taken by the King and his Ministry, to regain the Affections of the People. Such was the State of Affairs on this Side, while the Transports still lay at *Helvoetsluys*, expecting an *Easterly Wind*, and in no small

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small Alarm for the Men of War under Admiral *Herbert*, which were all out at Sea for some Weeks, and the best Part of that Time in the most tempestuous Weather imaginable.

The Prince's Council were often extremely divided, during this disagreeable Retardment, upon the Methods they should pursue; some proposing one Thing, some another; but his Highness and Marshal *Schomberg*, kept constant to one Opinion, which was, upon the first Change of Wind to make the best of their Way for the *English* Coast; the Troops, and more particularly the Horses, beginning to suffer extremely, by continuing so long on Board. At last, the Wind shifting to the so much desired *Eastern* Corner, and the Transports having been joined a Day or two before by the Men of War, the whole Fleet put to Sea a second Time, *November* the 1st O. S. with an Intent of sailing *Northward*, if possible, but that Course, which might have proved fatal (as the King had made better Provision on that Side) being prevented by the stormy Weather, they steered directly for the *West* (Providence ordering it so at the same Time, that the *English* Fleet could not stir out of the River) and notwithstanding the frequent Probability of vast Disappointments, put in happily into *Torbay*, upon the doubly memorable 5th of *November*, with the Loss only of two or three small Transports, intercepted by

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by some Frigats of Lord *Dartmouth's* Fleet, which had been sent out to get Intelligence.

Not to enter into tedious Particulars of this Debarkment, nor the Defeat of Lord *Dartmouth's* Designs (who having got out of the River, came in pursuit of the *Dutch* Fleet a Day or two after, as far as the Isle of *Wight*, when a Storm at *West* drove him back) I shall follow the steps of the Prince, who marched directly for *Exeter*, quartering his Troops in the adjacent Towns and Villages; (but in a Manner, the least burthensome that could possibly be to the Country) resolving to halt there, as well to refresh the Forces, as in Expectation of the Countries coming in; which, from the Uncertainty of Affairs, * was very slow at first. From other Parts of *England* indeed, many of the Nobility † and Gentry flock'd in daily to his Highness; and he had the Satisfaction moreover, to hear of many others rising in his Behalf in several Counties, as the Earls of *Devonshire* and *Danby*, and the Lord *Delamere*, in the *North*; that *York* and *Newcastle* had already declared in his Favour; and that the People's Inclination to his Cause, discovered itself daily more and more throughout the whole Kingdom. This Pleasure, indeed, received some
Allay

* The Magistrates of *Exeter* kept off for several Days, as well as all the Gentry round; and the Bishop and Dean went off.

† My Lord Col *hester*, Son to the Earl of *Rivers*, Lord *Whar-*
ton, Colonel *Godfrey*, &c.

allay from the Slowness with which the *Western* Counties came in, upon which he chiefly depended for the present Support of his Army, notwithstanding the great Assurances of their joining in the Cause, that had been given him before he left *Holland*.

The King, in the mean Time, was come down as far as *Salisbury*, and had sent the main Body of his Army Twenty Miles beyond that City; upon this Occasion it was, that the Troops gave the first visible Marks of their Affection to the Prince, by the Desertion of the best Part of three Regiments of Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of the Lord *Cornbury* * and Colonel *Langston*, who had managed this Affair; tho' through some treacherous Discovery, many that knew nothing of the Matter, no sooner heard, that the *Dutch*, who were in the Secret, were coming to meet them, but they profited of the Confusion the whole Body was in, and rode back to the Camp. This, as it was the greatest Encouragement that could possibly happen to the Prince, threw the King on the other, into a proportionable Lowness of Spirits (for he had Reason now to suspect the Inclinations of his Army, no less than those of his Fleet) and being moreover daily convinced by the Defection that followed upon the Heels of this first, that the Hearts

U

of

* Son to the Earl of *Clarendon*, Colonel of the Royal Dragoons.

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of his Subjects were quite alienated from him, especially when he found himself forsaken, as he did a few Days after, by Prince *George of Denmark*, the Dukes of *Ormond* and *Grafton*, the Lord *Churchill*, and several other Persons of the first Distinction, he left *Salisbury*, and went back for *London* with the utmost Expedition, and in the deepest Despair.

The Prince, having now every Thing at length secure in the *West* (where *Plymouth's* declaring for him at the Earl of *Bath's* Persuasion, had freed him from all Apprehensions on that Side) was on his March, at the Head of a numerous Nobility, and a fine Army, directly for *London* (where the Confusion was at the highest, and a new Manifesto published by an unknown Hand in his Highness's Name, had wrought a wonderful Effect) when he received a Message from the King, by certain Protestant Lords of † the Council (who were, at the Bottom, in his Interest) to know what his Demands were: The Prince hereupon, having desired Time to deliberate, ordered Commissioners on his Side to confer with the Managers for the King, and give the following Reply. “ That he de-
 “ fired a Parliament might presently be called,
 “ and that no Person should continue in Em-
 “ ployment, but what had taken the Test, and
 “ were qualified by Law. That the Tower of
London

† Marquis of *Hollifax*, Earl of *Nottingham*, and Lord *Gedolphin*.

“ *London* might be put into the Hands of
 “ the City, and the Fleet, and all the strong
 “ Places of the Kingdom, into those of firm
 “ Protestants; that a Proportion of the Re-
 “ venue might be set aside for the Payment
 “ of the Prince’s Troops; and that during
 “ the setting of the Parliament, the Armies
 “ of neither Side should approach *London* nearer
 “ than Twenty Miles; but the Prince himself
 “ might come thither, and keep the same
 “ Number of Guards about his Person that
 “ the King had near his.” The Lords of the
 Commission appeared well satisfied with the
 Answer; they sent it up by an Express, and
 went back to the King the next Day.

The Priests, and all the violent Papists,
 whom the Shew of this Treaty that was on
 Foot, had thrown into the greatest Anxiety,
 apprehending with Justice, the Reward of those
 Mischiefs they had involved both the King and
 Nation in, suggested to the Queen, the Prob-
 ability of her being impeached as soon as the
 Parliament should meet, in so strong a Manner,
 that she prevailed upon the King, not only to
 let her go to *France*, but likewise to promise
 that he would follow her in Person. His Ma-
 jesty’s Resolution being firmly taken upon this
 Head, she went privately to *Portsmouth*, from
 whence she was convey’d over in a Man of
 War, and the Priests provided for their Safety
 at the same Time, some one way, some ano-

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ther. The King just stay'd long enough to receive his Highness's Answer, which, when he had read, he made a Shew of calling a Council next Day (*December 10*) but (having sent previous Orders to my Lord *Feversham* to disband the Army) withdrew privately about Three in the Morning from *Whitehall*, under the Disguise of a Servant to Sir *Edward Hales*, taking the Great Seal along with him, which was flung into the *Thames*, and went into a wretched Fishing-Boat, which that Gentleman had provided for carrying them to *France*.

In this unparalleled Manner did King *James II*, who might have been the Arbiter of *Europe*, and was yet Master of a strong Fleet, and a good Army, give up his Reason to the Persuasions of wicked and artful Men, who made him believe the Prince intended Violences, which were far from his Highness's Thoughts, purposely to give a Sanction to their own Flight, and involve him in the Consequences of these illegal Acts, which were originally their Handy-work, and of which they had made him the unfortunate Instrument. The Weakness he shewed in the whole Conduct of this Escape, not so much as daring to confide in one of his Yachts, was a Proof how greatly he postponed his own Interests, to those of his Seducers, and left People at Liberty to put all the worst Constructions upon so unaccountable a Step. Here is fixed the Epoch of that *Inter-*
regnum,

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regnum, which paved the Prince and Princess of *Orange* a Way to the Throne.

The Prince was at *Abingdon*, upon his Way to *Oxford*, where he intended to meet Princess *Anne* (who, upon the News of the Prince her Husband's going over to his Highness, had made her Escape to *Northampton*) when the News of this strange Catastrophe surprized him. The first Rumour of it he could scarcely give Credit to; but was soon eased of all his Doubts, by an Express from the Lords, who had been with him on the King's Part, and judged it advisable, therefore, to reach *London* (where Things were in the utmost Confusion, since the King's Departure) with all possible Speed: But as in this Case, for the Safety of his Person, it was necessary to have his Troops along with him: Parties of the King's Army lying scattered upon the *London* Road, he made but short Journeys, insomuch, that he had but just reached *Windsor*, when he received Advice, by two *Kentish* Gentlemen, that the King had been stopped at *Feversham*, in Disguise, by certain Fishermen, and was detained in that Town, the Mob refusing to obey any Orders but what came from the Prince. This perplexing Incident put his Highness's Measures to a Stand; but in the mean while he dispatched M. *Zuylenstein* to *Feversham*, to see that his Majesty received no Insults, nor were under the least Restraint, from any Account whatsoever,

The News of the King's Seizure at *Fever-sham*, had no sooner reached *London*, but it produced Pity and Compassion, even in those to whom his former violent Measures had rendered him odious, and his late Desertion contemptible. The Privy Council assembled upon it, and the Result of its Deliberations was, that his General, the Earl of *Fever-sham*, should act in this Affair, as he saw best; whereupon the said Earl took with him the King's Coaches, and Guards, and went himself to bring him up. The King came accordingly, in the most publick Manner, to *Whitehall*, welcomed with surprising Demonstrations of Joy (such is the Instability of the Multitude) and was received by a numerous Court, which buoy'd up his Spirits to that Degree, that he now began to talk in the old Strain, justifying most of his former Actions; but finding all his Affairs in the utmost Distraction, was advised to send the Earl of *Fever-sham*, tho' without a Passport, to *Windsor*, to desire the Prince of *Orange* to come to *St. James's*, in order to consult with him about the best Methods of settling the Nation.

The Prince's Council, upon this Message, were extremely divided in their Opinions; for, notwithstanding that it was agreed in the main to stick to the Point of *the King's having deserted his People*; yet the great Difficulty lay how to dispose of his Person, some advising the

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the detaining of him Prisoner, at least, till the Nation was compos'd, and others the sending him to *Breda*, as Hostage for the Safety of the *Irish* Protestants: But here the Prince gave a most signal Proof of his Detestation of any Thing that carried with it the least Colour of Cruelty; for tho' he declared himself in Conscience satisfied with the Grounds of his Expedition, yet he could not, he said, put such an Hardship upon the King, as to make him a Prisoner; besides that, he knew the Princess's Temper so well, he was sure she could never consent to her Father's Confinement. The Necessity of removing him out of *London*, indeed, he was convinced of, to obviate those Disorders, and Tumults which must have been the Consequence of two separate Courts, attended by their respective Guards, and so many People in opposite Interests; and therefore he would order a Guard to attend upon the King, which should only defend and protect his Person, but not restrain him in any sort. In pursuance to this Resolution, his Highness subscribed a Paper, directed to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Sbrowsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, whereby he desired them to tell the King, "That
 " for the better Security of his Majesty's Person,
 " and the Quiet of the City, it was thought
 " expedient for him to remove to *Ham House*,
 " where he should be attended by the *Dutch*
 " Guards, who would protect and defend him
 " from any Insult or Violence."

The first Thing the Lords did, was to order all the *English* Guards about the Court to be drawn off, and sent to Quarters out of Town ; this had no sooner been complied with by my Lord *Craven*, who commanded them, but Count *Solms*, with the *Dutch* Guards, came and took Possession of all the Avenues and Posts which those had abandoned ; and then having signified their Message to my Lord *Middleton*, the King's Secretary, they desired him, tho' it was very late in the Night, and the King was in Bed, to introduce them to his Majesty, upon a Subject of the highest Importance : Being admitted to his Bed-side, they delivered him the Purport of their Commission, desiring he would be early enough at *Ham* to avoid meeting the Prince, who was to arrive at *Sion* House that Day ; and the King having agreed to this, they were scarce gone from him but he sent *Middleton* after them, to signify his Desire of going to *Rocheſter*, rather than to *Ham* ; which was visibly proposed in order to a Second Escape, and this they promised they would acquaint the Prince withal immediately, who having readily given his Consent ; the King having ordered all the moving Wardrobe to be sent before him, and disposed every Thing for his Departure (as Count *Solms* gave him free Liberty) as well as so short a Warning would permit, took Water for *Lambeth*, where his Coaches waited, in his

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own Barge, attended by four Lords, some of his Yeomen, and about an hundred *Dutch* Guards, most of them Papists, who not only left the King at full Liberty to do what he pleased, paying him the utmost Respect, but likewise regularly attended Mass the whole Time they were with him. The King, after having continued at *Rocheſter* about a Week, during which Time it was sufficiently evident how much he was his own Master (for he received Viſits from all thoſe he had a Mind to ſee, among whom many preſſed his Stay with great Warmth) left the Town ſecretly, on the laſt Day of this memorable Year, and got ſafe over to *France*.

Notwithſtanding the indiſpenſable Motives the Prince had to proceed in the Manner he did, the Good of the Nation he had ſo manifeſtly in View, the Reſpect and Tenderneſs with which the King was uſed, and the amazing Diſcipline obſerved by the *Dutch* Troops, which gained them the Love of all the Country thro' which they paſſed, there were not wanting ſeditious and ill-deſigning Perſons at this critical Juncture, to ſpread Reports to the Diſadvantage of his Highneſs, among whom no Man beſtirred himſelf more than the *French* Ambaſſador *Barillon*, who was, for that Reaſon, ordered to depart the Kingdom, and allowed but four-and-twenty Hours to prepare for his Journey. In the mean Time, none of King *James's* Party,

Party, either Papists or Protestants, Clergy or Laity, received the least Molestation; but on the contrary, were secured from the Insults of the Rabble with all imaginable Care, and even to those few, whom, for Reasons of State, it was thought proper to confine, all the Indulgence they could desire was allowed, so firmly did the Prince adhere to his great Maxim of Moderation, being so far, moreover, from affecting the least Popularity, that he came to *St. James's* Palace privately, in a manner, avoiding the Shouts and Acclamations of the Multitude to the utmost of his Power.

The Prince, immediately upon his Arrival, received the Compliments of all the Persons of Distinction in the Protestant Interest, as likewise of the Bishops, the *London* Clergy, the Judges, and Aldermen; *Treby*, the Recorder, congratulating his safe Arrival, in the Name of the City (for the Lord-Mayor was then indisposed) and was waited upon, moreover, tho' privately, by some of the foreign Ministers: He likewise confirmed an Order of Council, by which all Foreigners had Leave given them to depart the Kingdom; and granted Passports to many, that laboured under more particular Apprehensions from the Licentiousness of the Mob, as the Envoys of *Modena* and *Savoy*; but chiefly the Pope's Nuncio.

On

On the 21st of *December* his Highness having invited the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, to the Number of about Seventy, such of the Members of the three last Parliaments as could be found, with some of the chief Citizens, to a Conference at St. *James's*, desired them to consider upon the best Methods for calling a free Parliament, and putting in Execution the Purposes of his Declaration, which he left to be perused by them; and so withdrew. This gave Occasion to great Debates, which it is not my Business to enter upon, till at length certain Advices being come of the King's being withdrawn out of the Realm, the Lords drew up two Addresses to his Highness; the first, to desire he would take the Administration upon him, till such Time as a Convention should be called, to settle the Nation upon a sure and legal Footing; and the second, to desire him to issue out Writs, in his Name, to the several Counties, Boroughs, Universities, &c. for their electing Persons duly qualified to represent them in the ensuing Convention.

His Highness having returned a gracious Answer to these Addresses, dispatched his circular Letters accordingly, interposing neither directly nor indirectly in the Choice of Representatives, and bent his Thoughts, while this was in Agitation, upon new modeling the *English* Army; in order to which, he made a general Review

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Review of the Troops, directing the Lord *Ranelagh*, the Pay-master, to pay their Arrears, and the Lord *Churchil*, to make the Reform ; He issued out a Declaration, at the same Time, prohibiting Soldiers to quarter in any House (a Practise much in Fashion in those Days) without the voluntary Consent of the Owner.

As it may not be improper to cast our Eye a little upon the Affairs of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, in those tumultuous Times ; I shall observe briefly, that no sooner the News was received at *Edinburgh* of the King's being gone off, but the Rabble broke (as they had done in *London*) into all the Popish Chapples, that of *Holy-Rood* House more particularly, which had been adorned, at a great Expence, in the View of being made a Royal Chapel, for the Order of St. *Andrew* and *Tbistle*, which the King had resolved to revive. This they totally defaced, and, as there were few or no regular Troops in that Kingdom, nor any Place of Defence, besides the Castle of *Edinburgh*, of which the Duke of *Gordon* had possessed himself, proceeded to abundance of other Outrages, seizing the Earl of *Perth*, and other Papists, while the Prince's Declaration answered its End effectually with the better Sort, as well of the * Episcopal as of

* Here I do not mean the *Scottish* Bishops, who having declared themselves in the most violent, and even indecent Manner against the Prince, in some of their late Addresses to King *James*, before the Prince landed, could not for Shame retract.

of the Presbyterian Persuasion ; tho' the latter, in the Western Counties especially, behaved in so unbecoming a Manner upon this Occasion to the Episcopal Clergy, as was in a great Measure the Motive to that Obstinacy with which these espoused the opposite Side of the Question, and went into my Lord *Dundee's* Measures, who stood out against the Prince's Troops, under General *Mackay* for some Time, till he was killed at *Gillycranky*.

Duke *Hamilton*, in the mean Time, who was in *London*, and had waited to declare himself till the Prince's Arrival, no sooner saw him come, but he called together all the *Scotch* of Distinction that were in Town, who agreed upon an Address to his Highness, with Regard to the Affairs of that Kingdom, much of the same Tenour with the *English* one ; which Address the Duke presented to him at the Head of thirty Lords and fifty Gentlemen of *Scotland*, and thus the Administration of the whole Island of *Great Britain* was put into the Prince's Hands.

The Prospect from *Ireland* was bad all this while ; the Earl of *Tyrconnel*, King *James's* Lord Lieutenant, had given Commission for raising 30,000 Men, and the whole Island was terrified with the Report of a general Massacre of the Protestants intended there this Winter, insomuch, that those of *Munster*, where they
were.

were by much the weakest, flocked in great Numbers to *England*, full of dismal Apprehensions for their Relations and Friends left behind; moving very earnestly, that a speedy Assistance might be sent them. In *Ulster*, indeed, they had more Strength, but wanted an Head; the Earl of *Granard*, and the Lord *Mounjoy*, the two Protestants of the greatest Weight and military Experience in those Parts, having still such Measures to keep with *Tyrconnel*, that they declined the Conduct of them. Two Towns, indeed, of very little Defence in themselves, *Londonderry* and *Iniskilling*, and slightly stored with Provisions, were secured by the successful Rashness of some resolute Men, insomuch, that they refused Admittance to a *Papish* Garrison, nor could, upon any Account, be brought to submit to *Tyrconnel*. They had both of them an advantageous Situation, and more People flocking thither every Day with Stores of all Sorts, they resolved, therefore, independently of any other Succours, to stand it out at all Perils, till such Time as Supplies could be sent from *England*. History can scarce produce a greater Instance of Courage than this; and to the Praise of this determined Handful of Men, it must be said, That they paved their Way, in a great Measure, to the Deliverance of the whole Kingdom.

The Care of *Ireland* had been not only recommended to the Prince by the *English* Lords
and

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and Commons. but was likewise, in the strongest Manner, submitted to his Consideration, in an Address drawn up for that Purpose, at the Duke of *Ormond's* House, and subscribed by abundance of the *Irish* Nobility and Gentry. The surest Canal these had to the Prince's Ear was through the Earl of *Clarendon*, in whom they had great Confidence; and, at the same Time, *Tyrconnel*, who bore a personal Hatred to this Earl, having some Intimation that he was to be his Successor, entered into a private Treaty with his Highness, by the Means of Sir *William Temple* and his Son: The Prince, by the Advice of those about him, kept my Lord *Clarendon* in the Dark, with Regard to this Negotiation, hoping to relieve the Protestants without entering into a War, and sent over Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, a *Papist*, but a brave Officer (recommended to the Prince, by the *Temples*, who depended upon his Honour) with Proposals to *Tyrconnel*, who was, at that Time, fully determined to submit. *Hamilton*, false to the Prince, as well as to those who had recommended * him, assured the Lord Lieutenant that Things were quite misrepresented, that King *James's* Affairs were taking a Turn again in his Favour; and that the *English* Army were all ready to desert the Prince, but exhorted him to dissemble with him, in order to protract the Time. By this underhand Management, several submissive Letters were sent over

* Mr. *Temple*, who had the chief Hand in this, drowned himself in the *Thames* a few Days after *Hamilton's* false dealing came to be known.

over from *Dublin*, *Tyrconnel* assuring his Highness, that he was fully determined to come in, but pretending withal, that he could do no less, in Honour, than disengage himself from his Master, before he embraced his Offers. To carry this further yet, two Commissioners were appointed out of the Council-Board, to go to *France*, the one in the Name of the Papists, and the other in that of the Protestants, with Instructions to represent to the King, the Impossibility of *Ireland's* holding out in a separate Interest from that of *England*: But the brave Lord *Mountjoy*, the Protestant Commissioner, immediately on his Arrival at *Paris*, was sent to the *Bastille*, in Lieu of having the Audience he expected (where he continued for some Years a close Prisoner *, contrary to the Law of Nations, as he was sent in the Name of a Kingdom) by which Act of Violence, the Prince being convinced of *Hamilton's* Treachery, and of *Tyrconnel's* Collusion, began, tho' somewhat of the latest, to concert proper Measures for reducing *Ireland* by Force.

And now the Time of the Convention's sitting drawing near, People were busy on all Sides in forming their Schemes, and strengthening their Parties, without the least Interposition, as has been said before, on the Side of the Prince. It were superfluous to repeat Things so univer-

* He was not released till a little before the Battle of *Steinkirk*, where he was killed, fighting as a Volunteer under King *William*.

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universally known, as the Points that were aimed at by the several Sets of Electors; I shall therefore only observe, that, as upon the Sitting of the Convention*, the Debates were so warm, and as well managed on all Sides, as such a Case would admit of, so never was Joy more generally sincere among Protestants of all Persuasions, than when the famous Vote was carried for the Prince and Princesses of Orange ascending the Throne.

One Particular cannot be passed by here without doing Injustice to the Memory of this great Prince; and that is, the Phlegm and Indifference which was visible in his whole Behaviour, during the Course of these Debates, with Regard to the Possession of a Crown, that few Tempers besides his could have borne to be in suspense about, with such an Equality of Mind. He went little Abroad, was not more accessible than usual, avoided the least Shadow of any Endeavour to bring over those who were not in the Sentiment of placing him upon the Throne, and seemed perfectly satisfied, that his main End was answered in relieving the Nation from its Oppressions, and in calling together a free Body of Representatives.

A few Days, indeed, before the two Houses came to a Resolution, he called some of the Lords and Commons to him, and thought fit

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to

* January 24, 1689.

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to explain himself so far, as to let them know First, That in Case they had a Mind to elect a *Regent*, he wished them Success in that Project, but assured them he would not be the Man: Secondly, That as he heard some had a Mind the Princess alone should wear the Crown, and he reign, as it were, by her Courtesy; as great an Esteem and Affection as he had for his Wife, yet this was what he could never consent to, but would rather leave them to her single Administration, and go back and live privately in *Holland*, as he had hitherto done.

The Princess being arrived in *London* just the Day before this great Point was carried, the Prince and she were declared King and Queen of *England, Scotland, &c.* with the usual Styles, and their Majesties both jointly received the Crown in the most solemn Manner on the 11th of *April* following, after the King had made all those Changes in the Government he thought necessary, either as to Civil or Ecclesiastical Affairs, and promoted those Persons, whose Merits entitled them to his Favour, to the Honours and Dignities they deserved.

As the Remainder of the Life of this heroick Prince (which ended, to the Grief of all true Protestants, after he had possessed the Crown of these Kingdoms for about thirteen Years, upon *March* the 8th, 1702) comes more properly within the Series of the *British* Kings, I shall
con-

content myself with slightly touching upon his illustrious Character, in the Words, for the most part, of an Author who seems to have given it impartially, and then resume the main Design of this Work, which is, the carrying the Succession to the Title and Estates of *Nassau-Orange*, down to the present Time.

Tho' it were bafe Adulation to presume to say, that King *William* was free from Faults, yet that they were counter-ballanced by great Virtues, is what his very Enemies must own. To do him Justice, he was a Prince experienced in all the Arts of War, Policy, and civil Government. Intrepid in Dangers, Constant in his Resolutions, Moderate in his Prosperity, Unshaken in Adversity, Wise in his Councils, Faithful to his Allies, Dreadful to his Enemies, more Master of the Affections of his People, than any of the Sovereigns his Predecessors since Queen *Elizabeth*, by his forbearing Temper and Clemency; and tho' no Man knew better than he, to keep up the Decorum and Dignity of his Rank, yet was he far from expecting those strained and servile Submissions which the King of a free People ought to look upon with Contempt. He always asserted the Liberty of *Europe*, both before and after he was King, declaring himself an Enemy to Tyranny, Oppression and Arbitrary Power; he not only preserved his own Country, but rescued likewise these three Nations when their Religion, Laws and Liberties were in the most eminent Danger, and no other hu-

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man Help left to save them; he perfectly united *England* and *Holland*, two inveterate Rivals in Trade; and by teaching them to promote their mutual Interests, left behind him an effectual Barrier (as evidently appeared in the whole Course of *Queen Anne's Wars*) against the exorbitant Power of *France*. He roused, as we may say, the ancient martial Spirit of the *English*, and tho', partly through domestick Jars, and partly thro the Sloth of his Allies, he met with great Disappointments, yet may he be affirmed, in the main, to have revived the Honour of the Nation in the Field, as he retrieved it in the Cabinet. He maintained the Church of *England* in all its Rights, without oppressing the Dissenters, or shewing that Bitterness against the *Papists*, which the late ruinous Steps of their Priests might, in some Measure, have justified; and, in a Word, deserves to be ranked among the justest, wisest, and most valiant Princes that ever sat upon the *British* Throne: Over and above all this, his settling the Crown eventually in the illustrious Line of *Hanover** after the Death of *Queen Anne*, and in Default of her Issue, ought to render his Memory for ever valuable to all Lovers of their Country, and of the Protestant Religion.

King *William*, some Years before his Death†, had made a Will, which was then deposited by him

* By an Act passed June 12, 1701.

† In 1695.

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him in the Hands of M. Schuylenburg. The said Will, about the the Beginning of May following, was opened at the *Hague* in the Presence of Mr. *Stanbope*, and M. *Schmettau*, Envoys from the Queen of Great Britain, and the King of *Prussia*; the Agents of the Princes of *Nassau-Frize-land*, *Anbalt*, and *Nassau-Siegen*, several Members of the Council of State in *Holland*, and others; The following is an exact Copy of it.

WE William, by the Grace of God, King of Great-Britain, Prince of Orange, &c. Considering the Infirmary and Mortality of Man, the Certainty of Death, and the Uncertainty and Manner of it, have thought fit, and resolved, before We leave this Earthly Vale, to dispose of the Temporal Goods which it has pleased God to give Us, as well Feodal as Allodial, by Virtue of a Grant from the States of Holland, and West-Frizeland, bearing Date June 15, 1673. Recommending first our immortal Soul into the merciful Hands of God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and our mortal Body to the Earth: Revoking, Cancelling, and Annulling by these Presents, all Testaments, Codicils, or other Disposals which We have hitherto made or executed; it being our Desire that neither They, nor any of Them should be valid, or in any wise take Effect: But disposing thus a new, We declare, that We have named and appointed, as by these Presents We do name and appoint, Our Cousin, the Prince Frizo of Nassau, eldest Son of Prince Casimir of Nassau, at present Stadtholder of Frizeland, Our sole and univer-

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jal Heir of all our Estates, as well Feodal as Allodial, which We shall leave at the Day of Our Death, reserving to Ourselves to appoint Him such Guardians, as We shall hereafter think fit.

We farther declare, That We reserve to Ourselves the Power of bequeathing, under Our Hand, and Private Sign Manual, such Legacies and Gifts, as We shall hereafter think fit ; willing and desiring, that whether they be written by Us only, and signed by Us, or written by another, and signed by Us, they may have the same Force and Validity, as if they were particularly inserted and expressed in Our Will. We declare all that is above-written to be Our last Will and Testament, desiring, that it may have and take Effect, either as Testament, Codicil, Donation, because of Death ; or in any other Manner, that may render it most valid and effectual, notwithstanding any Neglects or Mistakes that may be committed in it, which We desire may be rectified and made good in the best Manner that is possible.

Naming and appointing for Executors of this Our last Will and Testament, the States General of the United Provinces ; desiring them to accept of it, and that they would be pleased to execute this Our last Will and Testament. In witness whereof We have caused these Presents to be written, and have signed them with Our Hand and Sign Manual, and sealed them
with

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*with Our Seal. At the Hague, October the
18th 1695.*

Signed *William R.*

The Seal of his Majesty was put on the Side of it, impressed on black Wax.

The Subscription was as follows :

To Day being the 19th of October, 1695, before me Adrian van Stervelt, Publick Notary, with Allowance of the Court of Holland, and residing at the Hague, in the Presence of the under-named Witnesses; appeared William III. by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, Prince of Orange, &c. being known to me, the said Notary, and being in perfect Health of Body, exhibited to me, the said Notary, this present Paper, sealed in four Places with his Majesty's Seal, and sewed with black Silk, and said that it contained the last Will and Testament of his Majesty, and desired that it should take Effect as such, tho' all the Forms requisite might not have been observed.

This was done and passed at the *Hague* in the Presence of *William Earl of Portland*, and *William de Schuylenbourg*, who were desired to be Witnesses to it, and who, together with his Majesty, and me the said Notary, signed these Presents, the Day and Year above written.

It was signed *William King.*
Portland,
William de Schuylenbourg.

And lower, in the Presence of me
Adrian van Stervelt, Notary.

It agrees with the Original, signed *P. van Assendelft.*

By a Codicil annexed to this Will, the Lordship of *Breevert*, and 200,000 Guilders, were given as a Legacy to the Earl of *Albemarle*.

John William Frizo, Prince of *Nassau-Dietz*, and *Orange*, in Favour of whom the above Will was made, was in his fifteenth Year *, at the Time of the King's Death, and had lost his valiant Father *Henry Casimir* † much about six Years before. As it would be entering upon a more spacious Field than we proposed ourselves, if we traced the Life of this illustrious and excellent Youth, through the several Stages of Education, till his Years would admit him to tread in the glorious Track of his *Ancestors*, and of the *Heroes*, of that *Collateral Line*, to whose Estates, as well as Virtues, Providence had designed him the Heir and Successor; we shall only begin our short Account of his Actions in the Year 1707, when, being entered in to his 21st Year, and at that Time actually in the

* He was born *August 4. 1687.*

† This Prince died in 1696.

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the Confederate Camp at *Soignies* (tho' not his first Campaign by five or six) he was (pursuant to a Request under his own Hand, made to the *States General*, and in Consequence of a Resolution taken thereupon by the said *States*) declared by the Deputies of their *High Mightinesses*, General of their Infantry, and solemnly vested with that great Office and Dignity by M. *D'Auverquerque*, and the Deputies in the Presence of the whole Camp, to the universal Joy of the Army, *August* the 21st. Here we cannot, in Justice to his Highness, pass over one Paragraph of his Letter of Thanks to the *States*, which we have translated in the following Manner. *He had nothing more at Heart, he told them, than by the Discharge of that Office, to render himself worthy of the Goodness the Provinces had expressed towards him; and assured them, moreover, that as during the several Campaigns which he had already made, it had been his constant Study to qualify himself for the Command they had now conferred upon him; so he should always in the Execution thereof, have in view a strict Regard to the Orders of their High Mightinesses, and to the Good of the Commonwealth, in the Defence, and for the Honour of which, he should always be ready to sacrifice his Life, in Imitation of his Ancestors.*

The Confederates breaking up from *Soignies* the last Day of the same Month, with a Design to give the Enemy Battle, the Prince of
Orange

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Orange, put himself at the Head of the *Dutch* Infantry; but as the Duke of *Vendome* shifted his Ground with Precipitation, upon the first Notice of their March, removing to a Post, from whence it was not easy to force him; the Allies judging it too late in the Year for any Enterprize of Consequence, resolved to send the Troops into Winter Quarters; and thus having dismissed them towards the End of *September*, the Prince of *Orange* went for *Friseland*, to be put in Possession of the Offices of Hereditary Stadtholder, and Captain General of that Province.

The following Year 1708, the Confederate Forces being got together on *May* 26, between *Bellingen* and *Notredame de Halle*, by the Duke of *Marlborough*, and *M. D'Auverquerque*; it was there his Highness (then lately contracted to *Mary Louisa*, Daughter to the Landgrave of *Hesse-Cassel*) came and joined them; as did soon after, upon their reaching their first Encampment at *Voscapel*, his present *Britannick* Majesty, the then Electoral Prince of *Hanover*, who was received and congratulated on his Arrival by all the Generals,

An Occasion soon offered itself for the Prince of *Orange* to make good what he had promised the States, in the famous Battle of *Oudenarde*, which was fought soon after Prince *Eugene's* Arrival in the Camp; and in which his present

sent *Britannick* Majesty gave those extraordinary Proofs of Valour (a Quality inseparable from the House of *Brunswick*) that we read of in all the Accounts of that remarkable Campaign. His Highness of *Orange*, who, with Count *Oxenstiern* under him, was ordered to the Attack of the *French* King's Household, having formed his Infantry in two Lines, behaved with that undaunted Bravery, falling upon the Enemies Flank, as greatly contributed to the Gain of the Victory, which, but for the Approach of the Night, had come nothing short of either *Hochstet* or *Ramillies*. Imperfect as it was, however it is certain, the Duke of *Vendome*, who commanded the *French* Troops under the Duke of *Burgundy*, and who had given his Sentiment against the Battle, in Opposition to that Prince, took the Defeat so to Heart, that it was the Cause of an irreconcilable Difference between his Royal Highness and him.

The taking of the Lines of *Ypres*, and the raising Contributions as far as *Artois* and *Picardy*, were the immediate Consequences of the Battle of *Oudenarde*, and the Siege of *Lille*, which was the next Thing undertaken, gave the Prince of *Orange* new Opportunities of signaling himself, which we beg leave to be a little particular in.

Prince *Eugene*, General of the Troops appointed for this Expedition, having made all the necessary Dispositions for an Enterprize of that

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that Moment; and named the Prince of *Orange* to command the Siege; his Highness (transported at the Part he was to act under the Eye, as it were, of so great a Captain) broke up from the Confederate Camp on the 11th of *August*, with 30 Battalions and 34 Squadrons, and marching thro' *Menin*, arrived betimes the next Day within Cannon Shot of *Lisle*, whilst Prince *Eugene* took another Rout at the Head of the Imperialists, in Order to invest the Place.

The Prince of *Orange* having passed the *Marque*, without any Opposition, attacked some *French* Troops that were posted in the Suburbs, without the Gate of *La Madelaine*, and forced them back under the Cannon of the Town: He drove another Body in like Manner from a palisadoed Post, where they were strongly entrenched at the Bridge of the Abbey of *la Marquette*; and when he had done this, he encamped his Men along the *Marque*, there to wait the Arrival of the Imperial Troops, which appeared on the opposite Side of the River the same Evening: On the 13th, the City began to be invested, and on the 16th it was surrounded on every Side.

Prince *Eugene* had his Head Quarters in the Abbey of *Loos*, taking up with the *German* Forces, consisting of 40 Battalions, and 80 Squadrons, the whole Tract of Land between the said Abbey and the *Marque*, The Prince
of

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of *Orange's* Body of 20 Battalions and 13 Squadrons, extended on the other Hand between the Abbeyes of *Loos* and *Marquette*, his Highness's own Quarters being at *Lambersard*, a little Village, within Cannon Shot of the Town. Here he lay exposed in such a Manner, that the very House where he was quartered had been pierced through in many Places by the Balls from the Enemies Batteries, till at last, on the 18th of *August*, as his Highness was dressing himself, there came one in at his Chamber Window, which passing within four or five Inches of the Prince's Head, killed outright his first Valet de Chambre, who was attending him, and whose Blood and Brains flew all about the Room, even upon his Highness's Night Gown. Being with much ado persuaded to shift his Quarters after this Accident, he removed, by the Advice of all the General Officers to the Castle of *Holbeek*, near the Abbey of *la Marquette*.

Marshal *Boufflers*, who commanded in the Place, and had 19 Battalions in Garrisons, besides one Regiment of Horse, and two of Dragoons, had taken all those Precautions that became an Officer of his consummate Experience, to frustrate the Efforts of the Besiegers; but nevertheless, as soon as the heavy Artillery was arrived, the two Princes opened the Trenches in the Night, of the 22d; and the next Day his Highness of *Orange* forced the Enemy from
some

some Out-Posts, one of which was retaken soon after by the *French*; but the Prince, who gave his Orders with a Judgment far above his Years, retook it a second Time with little Loss, and remained in Possession of it.

The Princes of *France*, with the Duke of *Vendome*, being now joined by the Duke of *Berwick*, made several Motions to amuse the great Army, under the Duke of *Marlborough*, who, lest they should attempt to raise the Siege of *Lisle*, passed the *Marque*, and advanced the 1st of *September* as far as *Antreule* and *Pont-a-Tressin*, in order to cover the Besiegers. Prince *Eugene*, at the same Time, sent all the Troops he could spare to reinforce the Duke's Army.

The Prince of *Orange* pushed on his Attacks, in the mean while, with all imaginable Vigour, notwithstanding the excessive Fire of the Place. The great Breach was already far advanced, and the *Sappe* carried on to within 50 or 60 Paces of the saillant Angles of the Countrescarp; inso-much that Signals being made from the Town, the Duke of *Burgundy* came and posted himself on the 4th Instant, within a League of the Allies: Hereupon Prince *Eugene*, and the Prince of *Orange*, joined the main Army, under the Duke of *Marlborough*, with as many Troops as could be spared from the Siege; but as this appeared only to be a Bravado of the Enemy's, in order to divert the Confederates from the
Attack

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Attack of *Lisle*, both their Highnesses returned to their former Posts on the 6th; where, as they found all the Parallels, Sappes, &c. quite in Readiness, Orders were given for attacking the Countrescarp the 7th at Night, and the Dispositions made accordingly: About 11,000 Men were appointed for this Assault, which was to be carried on in two Places at once; and the Princes being come both of them into the Trenches after Sun-set, the Place was attacked with incredible Fury about eight at Night, but not with all the Success that was to be hoped on the Confederate Side, tho' the *French* were at first dislodged from the Countrescarp, as they had several Works behind one another; and this Action, which might rather be called a Battle than an Assault, cost the former between two or three thousand killed and wounded, among whom were several Engineers.

The Duke of *Vendome*, heartned by this Repulse of the Allies (who had purchased three or four small Lodgments only, on the Outworks, at the Expence of so much Blood) caused his Army to make a new Motion, with a seeming Design of attempting the Relief of the Place, and advanced a second Time within Cannon-Shot of the Allies; erecting Batteries against their Camp, to which the two Princes repaired again in all Haste; but these new Appearances of an Action, vanishing in the same Manner as the first, their Highnesses continued their

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their vigorous Attacks against *Lisle*, while the Duke of *Marlborough*, on his Side, drew such Lines round his Troops, as not only effectually secured them against the Fire from *Vendome's* Camp, but likewise enabled the Besiegers to pursue the Work they were about, without any further Uneasiness upon their Account.

The *French* being now convinced that the Relief of *Lisle*, as Matters stood, was to be attempted no other Way, but by the too hazardous Attack of an Army so strongly entrenched; bethought them of another Expedient, which was, the cutting off of the Convoys that were necessary for the Camp: In order to this, they made new Dispositions, and having actually cut off the Communication the Allies had with *Brussels*, which obliged the Convoys to go about by *Ostend*, they posted a Body of Troops under Count *La Motte*, upon the Canal of *Bruges*. This gave Occasion to the famous Action of *Winendale*, on the 28th of the same Month, in which General *Webb*, and Count *Nassau-Woudembourg* (one of the Sons of M. *D'Averquerque*) with a Body of 6 or 7,000 Men at most, that were appointed Guard to the Convoy, defeated the Enemy with near four Times that Number. This Day was doubly unsuccessful to the *French*; for, the very Night after the Action, fourteen Squadrons of their Horse and Dragoons, under the Command of the Chevalier de *Luxembourg*, that were going with a Supply of Powder, from
Donay

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Douay to *Lisle*, falling in with the Duke of *Marlborough's* Outguards, by the Fire that was made upon them, were, in great Part blown up, for each Horse carried no less than 50 lb. weight, and thrown into a Disorder that is not to be expressed, insomuch, that the foremost Squadrons only, and very little of the Ammunition, got safe into the Town.

Marshall *Boufflers*, who had disputed his Ground very gallantly, finding himself thus disappointed, and seeing the ill Success of his Sallies, thought fit, at last, to capitulate for the Town, *October* the 22d, but held out the Citadel, with his usual Bravery, for six Weeks longer: at last, as he perceived that the two Princes (who had been diverted from their Attacks a few Days, by the Call they had to join the main Army, which went to raise the Siege of *Brussels*) were preparing to storm the Citadel, and was sensible, moreover, that the expected Relief was farther off than ever, he surrender'd the Place upon honourable Conditions, on the 9th of *December*, and marched out the Day following with his Garrison, consisting of 5 or 6,000 Men, through the midst of the Troops of the Siege, Prince *Eugene*, and the Prince of *Orange*, being at the Head, the former of the Cavalry, and the latter of the Infantry. Their Highnesses, after the Success of this prodigious Enterprize, having put *Lisle*, both City and Citadel, in the best Condition of Defence possible

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fible, marched on the 13th of the same Month to join the Duke of *Marlborough*, who had gloriously passed the *Scheld* a few Days before, in Sight of the Duke of *Vendome* (who, with an equal Force, durst not oppose the Confederates) and was preparing to besiege *Ghent*, notwithstanding that the Winter was so far advanced. *La Motte*, who had lost his Reputation by the Affair of *Winendale*, and who commanded here, was so far from retrieving it by a vigorous Defence, as, doubtless, he might have made, with the Advantage of the Season on his Side, and so numerous a Garrison, that he no sooner heard of the Duke's Preparations, but he beat a Chamade on the 29th, four Days after the opening the Trenches, and marched out, pursuant to the Capitulation, the 2d of *January*, 1709, at the Head of 35 Battalions, and 19 Squadrons, putting an End by that Means to a Campaign, that ended with such Reputation to the Duke of *Marlborough*, and the two Princes of *Savoy* and *Orange*.

The Prince of *Orange*, at the breaking up of the Campaign, after having received the Thanks of the States General at the *Hague*, went directly for *Friseland*, where, in Virtue of his Stadtholder's Office, he assembled the States of that Province, and contributed greatly to the warm Resolutions that were taken there for the ensuing Campaign. Thence his Highness proceeded for *Cassel*, where, in the Month

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Month of *April*, his Marriage was consummated with the Princess *Mary Louisa*, Daughter to the Landgrave.

The 14th of *June* following, his Highness came to the general Rendezvous of the Army, on the Plains of *Lisle*, and two Days after was detached from the Camp with 15 Battalions and 50 Squadrons, to make himself Master of *Mortagne* and *St. Amand*, as these were Posts of great Consequence to the Allies in their intended Siege of *Tournay*. This he did with very little Difficulty, and thence went to join Prince *Eugene* and Count *Tilly*, who had the Command of the Troops designed for covering the Siege, which the Duke of *Marlbrough* was to undertake.

To pass by the Particulars of the Siege, and taking of *Tournay*, and come to what more immediately relates to the Prince of *Orange*, I shall bring the Reader to the most glorious Scene of his all short Career, I mean the ever memorable Battle of *Malplaquet*, fought on the 11th of *September* following, between the Confederates, under the Duke of *Marlbrough* and Prince *Eugene*; and the *French*, under Marshal *Villars*. The said Marshal having left his Camp near *Douay*, with the View of cutting off the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse-Cassel* *, who was detached from the main Army to go and

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invest

* The present King of *Sweden*.

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invest *Mons*, it was this Motion that made the Allies haste to the Prince's Relief, and brought on a general Engagement ; in which, as the Accounts of it are so well known, I shall only take Notice of the Share his Highness of *Orange* had in it, in the very Words of an Author † of undoubted Credit.

“ As it was my Fortune, *says he*, to be near
 “ the Prince of *Orange* during the whole Ac-
 “ tion, in which I received two Wounds ; I
 “ may affirm, upon sure Grounds, what I was
 “ an Eye-witness to, with Regard to this young
 “ intrepid Hero's part in it. He was that Day
 “ at the Head of the *Dutch* Infantry, which
 “ formed the Left-Wing of the Confederate
 “ Army, and led it up quite to the Enemies
 “ treble Entrenchments, which were lined all
 “ the Way with Batteries of Cannon loaded
 “ with Cartridge. The first Line advanced to
 “ within Pistol-Shot without firing, following
 “ the Prince, who, with no more than 40
 “ Battalions, was to attack double that Num-
 “ ber, supported by the *French* King's Hous-
 “ hold, under the Marshal *Boufflers* and Count
 “ *D'Artagnan*, whose Bravery, on that Occa-
 “ sion, was worth him a *Batoon*. Notwith-
 “ standing that the whole Field was covered
 “ with Slain round his Highness, whose Per-
 “ son was exposed to a Fire not to be con-
 “ ceived, and tho' at the very Beginning of
 “ the

† V. *Histoire Militaire du Duc de Marlborough, du Prince Eugene, & du Prince d'Orange*. Large Imperial Paper. p. 286.

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“ the Battle he had lost the brave Count *Oxen-*
 “ *stiern*, nevertheless, he forced the first and
 “ second Entrenchments, and was in a fair
 “ Way of becoming Master of the third, as
 “ likewise of the greatest Battery of all,
 “ when his Troops, overpowered by Num-
 “ bers, were repulsed by Count *D'Artagnan*.
 “ He no sooner perceived their Disorder, but
 “ he snatched a Colours, belonging to *Mey's*
 “ Regiment, and advancing with a surprising
 “ Calmness and Intrepidity, fixed it upon the
 “ Entrenchment, crying out aloud to his
 “ Men, *A moy, mes amis, a moy* (follow me,
 “ my Friends, follow me) which Words
 “ brought his Men to the Charge a second
 “ Time ; but as he found them too weak to
 “ withstand such Numbers, he retired behind
 “ the Hedges, till News was brought him, that
 “ the Right Wing and Center had broke thro'
 “ the Enemy's Lines ; upon which he renewed
 “ the Attack on his Side, and pierced into the
 “ Plain, to reap his Share of the Laurels.

How warm the Action was on his Highness's
 Side may be easily imagined, when I inform
 the Reader, that of the *Dutch* Infantry, very little
 fewer than 10,000, were slain upon the Spot,
 among whom were computed above 700 Offi-
 cers. The Reduction of *Mons*, which was the
 Consequence of this Victory, put an End to that
 celebrated Campaign, and the next was opened
 with the Siege of *Douay*, before which Place

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the Allies broke Ground in the Beginning of May 1710, the two Princes of *Orange* and *Anhalt*, having the Direction of the Attacks. M. *d'Albergotti*, who commanded in *Douay*, held the Place out with great Resolution, during about fifty Days of open Trenches; after which, as he had lost 3,000 Men, in several desperate Sallies, he surrendered it honourably, the Princes having lost before it no less than 8000 Men, besides wounded. The 5th of *September* following, his Highness was detached singly for the Siege of *St. Venant*, a Place of great Strength in the Middle of a Morass, while *Aire* was invested, at the same Time, by the Prince of *Anhalt*; and this he carried with no considerable Loss, after 13 Days open Trenches. The Surrender of *Aire* having put an End to this Campaign, the Prince of *Orange*, at the breaking up of the Army, went for his Seat at *Leewarden*.

As the next Campaign afforded nothing very memorable, I am come to the fatal Year 1711, which put an End to one of the greatest Lives in all *Europe*, by the untimely Fate of the Prince we have been speaking of, who was cut off in the Manner I am going to relate, at the same Time that the Allies had another very sensible Loss, in the Duke of *Marlborough's* being deprived of his Command.

It was an amazing Event, and almost without a Parallel in History, that that very Succession to King *William's* Estates, from which the Prince of *Orange* was in all Likelihood to reap so much Glory, and such Advantages, should, through the unsearchable Decrees of Providence, be the Instrument and Means of his lamentable End. There had been a Dispute of many Years standing, between the King of *Prussia*, his Highness's near Relation, and himself, with regard to the Estates above-mentioned; and the King, whose Alliance was of singular Service in the common Cause, was very pressing with the States General to have a final Decision of this long-depending Affair. The Deputies of his Majesty and his Highness had lately had several Conferences on this Account at the *Hague*; and, in order to put the last Hand to the Accommodation which was in so fair a Way, the King was arrived in Person at that Place, where he desired a Meeting with the Prince of *Orange*, who, on his Part, tho' not very forward to comply with his Majesty's Request, being pressed to it extremely by the States General, gave his Consent at last, and accordingly left the Confederate Camp on the 11th of *July*, attended by his Master of the Horse, his Secretary, and a few other Domesticks. He lay at *Lisle* on the 13th, and arriving the next Day about Noon at the *Moerdyke*, he took

Water at first in an open Boat that was waiting to carry him over; but, changing his Design unfortunately, he got into the common Ferry-boat, to shelter himself, by the Means of his Coach, from the Rain and Wind, which happened to be pretty violent: and as they were pretty near the Shore, and the Watermen were tacking about, in order to reach the little Harbour of *Stries Sas*, on the opposite Side, a sudden Squall over-set the Boat in an Instant, with all that were in it. The Prince held fast some Moments by a Cable, but a Wave having broke his Hold, had only Time to cry out, *Lord have Mercy upon me, we are lost*; after which he was never seen more. Thus perished *John William Frizo* Prince of Orange, in his four and twentieth Year only, after so many Deliverances and Escapes as he had had in Fields, and in Trenches, where the Stroke of Fate had seemed almost unavoidable; and it is remarkable, that, excepting his faithful old Servant *M. Hilke*, Master of the Horse to his Highness, who was drowned with him, all the rest that had fallen in the Water got safe a-shore. His Body having been sought for ten Days to no Purpose, was found floating on the *Moer* the 22d of the same Month, almost near the very Place where he had sunk, by a common Waterman, who threw his Net for him. The wretched Remains of this great Prince having been carried to *Dort*, he was embalmed there, and from thence

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thence removed to *Leerdam*, where the Corps was deposited, with a Pomp suitable to the Occasion, in the Vault of his Illustrious Family. The Sorrow with which this Accident affected People of all Ages and Conditions, not thro' the *Dutch* Provinces only, but wheresoever the Fame of his excellent Character had reached, is not to be expressed; and the King of *Prussia*, who had innocently been the Cause of his Cousin's Misfortune, shewed a Concern that became a Monarch of his generous and humane Sentiments.

The disconsolate Princess of *Orange*, at that Time Pregnant, was, a few Weeks after, delivered of his present Highness *William Charles Henry Frizo*, a Prince truly worthy to tread in the Steps of so great a Father, lately contracted to her Royal Highness, *Anne*, Princess Royal of *Great Britain*, and installed Knight of the Most Noble Order of the *Garter*, at his own Palace near the *Hague*, called, *La Maison du Bois*, by a peculiar Commission from his Majesty, King *George II*, on *Saturday, July 25, 1733*. Since his Highness's Arrival in *England* (where it has pleased Providence, to throw the unforeseen Barr of Sickness in the Way to his Nuptials with the most accomplished of Princesses) the States General, by a Majority of five Provinces against two, have voted him the *Extradiction* of his Share

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Share of King *William's* Estates, and all that are interested in the Welfare of *Holland*, as well as in what concerns his Highness's Honour and Advantage, cannot but hope he will, in Time, succeed to every one of the Honours and Offices of his heroick Predecessors, as he does in so eminent a Degree, to their Patriotism, Greatness of Soul, and other Virtues.



O R I



ORIGINAL
LETTERS
FROM
King WILLIAM III,
THEN
PRINCE of ORANGE,
TO
King Charles II, my Lord *Arlington*,
&c. With an Account of his High-
ness's Reception at *Middleburgh*, and
Speech on that Occasion.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

Hague, June 20, 1670.

My Lord,



YOU have upon all Occasions
shewn yourself so much my
Friend, that I doubt not, in the
least, but you will be so in this
Business. I am resolved to obey
his Majesty's Orders, and to make a Voyage into
England; but before I undertake it, I could
wish

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wish to be resolved in a Point or two, which I dare not trust in Writing ; and therefore have sent over the Bearer hereof, Mr. *Romps*, to communicate it to you. I desire you to hearken to him, and to give him a favourable Answer. You may intirely depend upon his Fidelity, and I assure you, That what you shall say to him, will be the same as if it was spoke to myself.

I beg, therefore, of your Lordship to give him a favourable Dispatch, and I shall own the Obligation as long as I live, it being a Business of the greatest Consequence in the World to me : Besides, you shall find you could not oblige a Prince who will be more Grateful, and who will, upon all Occasions, demonstrate how much he is,

My LORD,

Your Affectionate Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

Instructions from his Highness the Prince of Orange to Mr. Romps, &c.

WHereas his Majesty the King of Great Britain, has been graciously pleased to write twice to the Prince of Orange, in very hearty, generous, and obliging Terms, That his Majesty was desirous to see the Person of the said Prince in *England* ; his Highness also longing much, and having a great Desire to wait upon his

his Majesty, and kiss his Majesty's Hands, is fully resolved, first to give Notice thereof to the States General, and the States of *Holland*, as soon as they shall meet, and afterwards to undertake the Journey, with their Knowledge and Approbation, the first Opportunity, and doubts not but the said States will approve of it: Therefore his Highness thought fit beforehand so to order the Matter, that his Journey may be acceptable both to his Majesty and the States, being resolved to employ Mr. *Rompf*, in *England*, for that Purpose, and to send him there before, where he is to do as followeth:

First, He shall transport himself with all possible Speed to *London*, and being arrived there, make his Addresses to my Lord *Arlington*, and no-body else; and shall deliver to his Lordship the Credential Letter, assuring him, That his Highness sent him over on Purpose to acquaint his Lordship with his Highness's Design of coming into *England*, and to thank his Lordship for the great Care, Kindness, and Affection he always bore to the Person and Interest of his Highness, especially in the Point of the Payment of the Money; which his Highness hath so great an Occasion for at present, that without some Assistance therein, his Highness's Houshold can never be maintained, or ever be reduced into a good Order. That his Highness was credibly informed, and not a little pleased to hear, that his Lordship, to facilitate the

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the said Payment, first propos'd and counsell'd the said Journey; for which Kindness his Highness owns himself much oblig'd to his Lordship.

Secondly, As some of his Highness's best and nearest Friends, made some Scruples about the said Journey, fearing it might prejudice his Highness's Interests in these Parts if it should prove ineffectual; his Highness being but of late admitted into the Council of the States, which is no great Matter, and as at present the Patriots are endeavouring to fix his Highness a little firmer: Therefore his Highness has thought fit and convenient, quietly and privately, to acquaint his Lordship with the said Scruples, and to beg his Lordship's Advice and Assistance therein.

The First Scruple was, That his Highness coming back from *England*, without the Payment, his Credit would be so weakened with the States, and the common People, that the Damage never could be repaired.

And Secondly, That the *Dutch* Ambassador *Van Benningen*, being now in *England* to negotiate, by all Probability, Affairs of great Moment, and it being uncertain what Issue they may have, the ill-affected may, in the mean Time, lay all the Fault upon his Highness, if he should be present then, to make him odious in these Parts, if the Ambassador should not succeed

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in his Negotiation according as he desires: Therefore his Highness thought it necessary, with your Lordship's Leave and Favour,

Upon the first Motion, That Means should be thought upon, by which his Highness might be helped, if not *in totum*, at least, *pro parte*.

And the second Motion, That if Affairs were in such a Condition, that his Majesty was disposed to grant the Ambassador his Request, especially that concerning the *East-India* Company, that in such Case his Highness could desire and wish to be in *England*, that he might have an Opportunity of recommending the said Business to his Majesty and his Ministers, before the Ambassador should have obtained his Dispatch; to the End, that his Highness might afterwards give an Account to the States, what Endeavours he used in the said Affair, and what Reflections his Majesty made thereupon. And it would not be amiss to insinuate to the Ambassador before his Highness's coming over, that the Presence of the Prince of *Orange* would contribute not a little to the said Business, and he should do well to expect his coming over, and to use his Interposition and Sollicitation therein.

But if it should happen that the Business which the Ambassador drives at, especially the Point concerning the *East-India* Company, were

were so that his Majesty could not resolve to do any Thing in it ; that then, for the Reasons above-mentioned, it were better that his Highness should stay in *Holland*, till the Embassador had got his Dispatch, and was gone.

Nevertheless his Highness will expect and follow the Opinion and Advice of your Lordship herein, being very well satisfied, that your Lordship, according to your wonted Goodness and Kindness, which his Highness has had sufficient Proofs of, will advise nothing but what may be for the best, assuring your Lordship, that he will never forget to compensate these Favours, with all the Gratitude imaginable.

Mr. *Romps*, having had his Lordship's Opinion concerning the two above-mentioned Scruples, is to return back again with all Speed, and without any Delay ; not discovering himself to any body, nor to mention that he was sent from his Highness.

Given at the Hague the 20th of June, 1670.

W. H. Prince of Orange.

TO SIR GABRIEL SYLVIVS.

From the Camp at Bodegrave, Sept. 4, 1672.

I Did not receive your Letter of the 17th of the last Month, till Yesterday. I am very much concerned to see you continue so firm to
your

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your former Resolution, and, that you will not treat upon any other Plan than what you have already sent me: I can assure you I am very willing to follow the King's Inclination in all Things that are in my Power, but in this it is not. I hope his Majesty will do me Justice to be intirely persuaded, that I have always that Duty and Respect for him which I ought, and that I can wish for nothing more in the World, than to shew the Inclination I have to serve him. I hope his Majesty will have the Goodness to continue me the Honour of his Favour, which I must desire you will use your Interest to preserve me: You may always assure yourself of my Friendship, and that I shall be very glad to have it in my Power to serve you, wishing nothing so much as that you will propose some feasible Method to attain both our Ends, for which I pray the Eternal God, from the Bottom of my Heart, and remain intirely

Yours,

W. Prince of Orange.

King CHARLES to the Prince of ORANGE.

Whitehall, Feb. 10. 1674.

Dear Nephew,

I Have had the Thoughts, ever since I heard the good News of your being made *Hereditary Stadtholder and General*, to send you my Congratulations upon so considerable an Advantage to

Z

your

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your Family and Succession: But I have hitherto delayed it, to see what the Success would be of my Treaty with the States; which being now happily concluded, by the Means of the Marquis *del Fresno*, I would not lose any Time in dispatching this Bearer, Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, to you, to let you know withal, that, altho' my own Affairs obliged me to hasten the Peace, I could not have had much Comfort or Security in it, if I had not seen you so established. I have, with this Bearer, also sent my Ratification of the Treaty, to be exchanged with that of the States; which being notified here, the Peace shall be immediately proclaimed. I desire you to give him intire Credit in those Things I have directed him to say to you, especially, when he shall tell you with what Tendernefs I love you, and how little you are to believe those malicious Persons, who may have, or shall suggest any Thing to you, contrary to this my Profession, wherein, methinks, our common Interests, as well as your Nearnefs to me in Blood, ought to be an intire Security to us both, and sufficient to justify, above all Exceptions, the Promise I make you of being unalterably,

Dear Nephew,

Yours, &c.

Charles R.

To

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To my Lord ARLINGTON.

Hague, Feb. 28, 1674.

My Lord,

I Suppose you cannot be ignorant of the Pain and Trouble I have had to bring Things to an Accommodation between his Majesty and the States, and that towards the effecting it, I have omitted no Opportunity ; neither do I think it necessary any further to express the Satisfaction I have in the Accomplishment of this Peace, upon which I thought myself obliged to send Mr. *Reede* to his Majesty, who will give you this, and will acknowledge to you the Obligation I particularly received by your being so hearty in the Accomplishment of so good and great a Work, as Monsieur, the Marquis *del Fresno*, has writ me Word.

I desire you to use your Interest, that this glorious Peace, which is but just now made, and which is so necessary and convenient to both Nations, may continue firm and unmoveable : To which I will contribute, on my Part, what lies in my Power, as well as, upon all Occasions, to assure you how much I am,

My Lord,

Your most Affectionate Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

To the King of *England*.

From the Camp at Dufel, May 25, 1674.

S I R,

I Have received both the Letters you was pleased to honour me with, and I had sooner returned you my most humble Thanks, if my hasty Departure from the *Hague*, together with the great Hurry I was in for the first Days of my March, had not prevented it. After paying my humble Thanks to your Majesty, for the new Marks of your Friendship, which you were pleased to shew me in your Letters, you must give me Leave, ingenuously to own, that I am not a little concerned at the Refusal your Majesty has hitherto made me, of raising Troops in your Kingdoms, and that at a Time when so many Reasons made me desire it. As for the Engagements your Majesty has with *France*, I know none that are contrary to the Interest of the States, much less to my own in particular, which you have not declared against by the Peace which hath been so happily concluded: And if your Majesty will give yourself the Trouble well to consider the secret Article which has been so often mentioned, you will plainly see, that you are so far from having any Right or Liberty reserved to act any Thing to our Prejudice, in Favour of *France*, that your Majesty has granted us great Advantages over our Enemy, and has put it in our Power to demand those Troops to be recalled, which
are

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are in the Service of his most Christian Majesty, which is contrary to the License which hath been given the Commanders of those Troops, to raise Recruits in some of your Majesty's Kingdoms, whilst the same Thing is denied us, as well as making new Levies, altho' there appears no Treaty between your Majesty and *France*, which deprives us of that Liberty: And besides, the Tenderneſs which your Majesty expressed towards me, hath given me Occasion to promise myself the same. I hope your Majesty will be pleased to reflect upon what I have taken the Liberty to represent here, and that your Majesty will defer no longer to grant me this now, which you gave me Hopes you would do another Time. In the mean while, I beg your Majesty to believe, that I am, with a most profound Respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's

Most humble, and most obedient

Nephew and Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

P. S. I entertained, for some Time, your Majesty's Embassadors, which came from *Cologne*, as they passed by the *Hague*, with what related to the Peace, and have nothing to add to what I said to them, which I don't doubt but they have given your Majesty an Account of, but to desire you to reflect seriously thereupon.

If I thought your Majesty was desirous to know what passes here this Campaign, I would not fail to give you an exact Account; but as I am as yet Ignorant how your Majesty is affected to the Interest, in which I am engaged, I will expect your Orders therein before I undertake it.

TO my Lord ARLINGTON.

From the Camp near St. Gilain, Aug. 20, 1674.

My Lord,

I Can't let Monsieur Sylvius part without taking this Opportunity to assure you of my Respects, and to desire you to continue me your Friendship: He will inform you how Affairs stand here, and with what Impatience I shall expect his Majesty's Resolutions thereupon. In the mean while, I beg you to believe me always,

My Lord,

Your most Affectionate Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

TO Sir GABRIEL SYLVIVS.

From the Camp at Quiverain, Sept. 1, 1674.

I Am very much obliged to you for communicating to me my Lord *Arlington's* Letter, which I return you here inclosed, begging you
to

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to re-assure him of my Friendship, and the Desire I have to serve him, and how much I shall own myself obliged to him, if he will be pleased to place me right in his Majesty's good Opinion. I shall also think myself not a little obliged to yourself, if you will believe me your Friend, and one that is very desirous to serve you,

W. Prince of Orange.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

From the Camp at Quiverain, Sept. 10, 1674,

My Lord,

YOU have so obligingly assured me of the Zeal you have for whatever concerns me, that I look upon myself bound to send you this Acknowledgment of it; I have little deserved the Praises you give me, and could wish myself so happy as to have it in my Power to serve you, and I would do it with all the Satisfaction imaginable. I shall also be very much obliged to you, if you will be pleased to place me in his Majesty's good Opinion, which is the Thing in the World I desire most, as well as to let you know how much I am,

My Lord,

Your most Affectionate Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

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To my Lord ARLINGTON.

From the Camp at Quiverain, Sept. 15, 1674.

My Lord,

I Received what your Lordship was pleased to write to me, and am very glad you have given me an Opportunity to demonstrate how agreeable your Recommendation was to me ; and also, tho' the Manner in which Monsieur *Blaigny* came into the Heart of the Country, in the Heat of the War, after having visited our Fortresses under the Umbrage of the *Swedish* Ambassador, which he denies, deserves any Thing besides his Enlargement ; for that, in Strictness, he ought to expect what the Laws decree against Enemies who take up borrowed Shapes, and run the Hazard of coming under Characters different to what in Reality they have : Nevertheless, since you Interest yourself so much in his Favour, and desire his Liberty, I promise you to use my utmost Endeavour to have him exchanged for some of our Prisoners of War which the *French* took in the last Battle ; and I believe, considering the great Difference there is between their Prison, the least I can demand, is, to make an Exchange for Monsieur *le Comte de Solms*, Colonel of my Guards, and the *Sieur de Croneman* his Lieutenant-Colonel ; both which may be released by paying the Ransom which was agreed upon by the *French* before the Campaign. I don't doubt but you will own that what I pro-

propose is very reasonable; and since you so much espouse the Liberty and Preservation of Monsieur *de Blaigny*, you will use your Credit with the Court of *France*, and let them know how much it is their Interest to save a Brigadier, and a Prisoner of State; and that they do agree to exchange him for two Prisoners of War.

But before I conclude, I must thank you for the Kindness you express to have for me, and altho' I have done nothing but what comes vastly short of what I could have wished, I am, nevertheless, obliged to you for the Marks of your Affection; and I desire you to believe, that there is no Body more sincerely Yours, than,

Your Humble Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

His Highness the Prince of ORANGE, to the King of *England*.

Hague, Jan. II. 1674.

S I R,

WHAT your Majesty had the Goodness to order the Earls of *Ossory* and *Arlington*, to say to to me, on your Part, I could not hear but with abundance of Joy; as also the Credential Letter, which they delivered me, upon the Subject of the Friendship and Esteem your Majesty vouchsafed to shew me,
and

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and the Desire you had, that all Misunderstandings which might have happened during the last War, might be forgot for ever. I assured them, on my Part, I would contribute what lay in my Power towards it ; and that it should be my greatest Care to preserve that Friendship your Majesty had done me the Favour to assure me of, and that I would neither spare Life nor Fortune to deserve it. Moreover, I have promised the Earls of *Offory* and *Arlington*, that I am, and will always be, ready to acquaint your Majesty with all I can learn of the ill Practices, and sinister Designs, your Enemies may have against your Person, or the Quiet and Repose of your Kingdoms. At present, I can assure your Majesty, I know none ; but if I can learn any thing for the future, I will not fail immediately to give you an exact Account. In return, I beg your Majesty will do me the Favour to shew some real Marks of your Friendship, not only to me, but to the *States General*, whose Interests and Mine are at present inseparable ; upon which Subject I have explained myself more at large to the Earls, who, without doubt, will give your Majesty a faithful Account of all what passed in the Conferences which I had with them, having an intire Confidence in their Persons. I also return your Majesty my humble Acknowledgments for the Choice you was pleased to make, preferable to all others, being Persons most proper and capable to establish, not only a sincere, but a firm
and

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and indissoluble Intelligence (as your Majesty desires) in your Royal Family. I could earnestly have wished in Person to have assured your Majesty of all these Protestations; and that it is in your Majesty's Power to make Peace, or let the War continue amongst the Parties engaged: All which I beg your Majesty intirely to believe; and that I am, and will be all my Life, with a most profound Respect,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most humble, and

Most obedient Nephew and Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

TO SIR GABRIEL SYLVIVS.

S I R,

Zuylestein, Feb. 3. 1675.

NOT being at the *Hague*, it was impossible to answer those Letters you writ me, so exactly as I could wish.

I have also received your two Letters of the 22d and 28th of the last Month, by which I was glad to understand you had a happy Voyage; and that his Majesty was pleased with the Letter I had the Honour to write to him, tho' I can't but wonder at what you tell me, that the States and myself are in Possession of some Overtures touching the Peace, from his most Christian Majesty: I can assure you, that we know nothing of it; and as for myself, in particular

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particular, I will hearken to nothing, before the Party in which I am engaged agrees to it. And I shall take the Liberty to inform his Majesty of my particular Interests ; not doubting but his Majesty will be so kind as to take Care of them. I can't see that the Advantages Monsieur *de Turenne* has had in *Germany*, can hinder the Allies from having as good Conditions for the Peace, as otherwise they might have had, since the Advantage is not so great as is imagined, at least they have lost nothing but the Assurance of doing the *French* some Mischief, which, 'tis hoped, they may do the next Campaign, if the War continues ; which, for my Part, I don't desire, but will always be willing to use my utmost Endeavours with the Allies, to persuade them to accept Conditions of Peace, such as are reasonable and honest. But I must observe, That you have not satisfy'd me in your Answer to the Demand which I made, Whether the King will assist *Sweden* ? Seeing you only tell me, That there are no Preparations made for it ; but not if there will be any. And since you have let me know that my Freedom is not disagreeable, I hope, that this new Instance, which I make to be further informed in this Affair, may not be so neither.

W. Prince of Orange.

To

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TO Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

Arnheim, Feb. 18, 1675.

S I R,

IT was Yesterday before I received yours of the 13th, by which I'm infinitely concerned to understand, that the *French* have refused *Meurs* for the Place of Congress; whereby the World must be convinced, that their Inclination for Peace is no more than an outward Appearance, without any real Effect.

I don't believe the States, and much less their Allies, will accept the Town of *Arnheim* or *Nimeguen*, since the Reasons are the same, they should refuse these two Places, as they were not to accept *Breda*. I won't repeat the said Reasons to you, because the Pensionary and I have entertained you so often on that Subject. I don't know what the States will resolve in this Affair; but without doubt they will stand to the Proposition they have made of some Town in *Swisserland*: But to shew you how desirous I am, that the Business of the Peace should go forward, and to let all the World see, that *France* is not inclined to it, at least, such a one as may consist with our Honour to accept; I hope I shall persuade the States and their Allies unanimously to agree upon the Town of *Grol*, which is in the Province of *Gelderland*, and eight Miles from hence, for
the

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the Place of Congress: Or else the Town of *Sluice* in *Flanders*, which belongs to the States. There is in like Manner another Town which I might also propose, which is indeed under the Empire, but stands more inclined to the Interest of the King of *France*, than that of the Empire, which is *Leige*: Which, without doubt, will be very proper for such an Assembly. After all, I can see no other than these three Places, if it be not *Switzerland*, that the Parties engaged can agree upon. If his Majesty likes this Proposition, I will do my utmost Endeavour to bring the States and their Allies to it: Upon which I shall with Impatience expect your Answer. In the mean while I desire you to believe me ever,

Your most Affectionate Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

Arnheim, Feb. 20, 1675.

I Was very sorry to hear, by your Letter of the 12th of this Month, That you gave yourself the Trouble to write to me, that you was indisposed. I hope this will find you upon your Legs again, and that Monsieur de *Ruvigny* has made some good Propositions of Peace, which I am impatient to know, and desire you to send the first Opportunity. I can assure you, I am of the same Opinion you left me

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me in, and very well pleased to hear that the King will not assist *Sweden*, but much troubled that People take Pleasure in writing you Lies from hence. I have not taken *Monfieur de Moulin* again into my Service; but it is true that I have talked with him since your Departure from hence, which I was obliged to do, in order to adjust some Affairs, and to recover some Papers he had in his Hands when he was with me, before you came hither. I desire you to assure yourself, that I will keep my Word in what I promised on that Account, as well as all other; but particularly, I will endeavour upon all Occasions to let you know how much I am,

Your most Affectionate Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

TO SIR GABRIEL SYLVIVS.

Hague, March 15, 1675.

YOUR last Letter was of the 6th of this Month, by which I can't, without Wonder, understand that it is taken Ill I have not paid my Compliment to the Duke upon the Birth of his Daughter. I can assure you they no sooner let me know it, which was immediately after she was born, but I writ by the first Post that went away, to wish him Joy; and the Lord Treasurer had no sooner let me know his Majesty's

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Majesty's Kindness in assigning me my Debt here, but I writ to the King to return him my most humble Acknowledgments, and sent the Letter to the Lord Treasurer, because it was he that gave me the first Notice of his Majesty's favourable Resolution. I have also writ to his Majesty, to thank him, that he would concern himself in the Affair of *Gelderland*. You may see by this true Narration, what Pleasure my Enemies take to find out false Reports to blame my Conduct, which makes them tell such Stories, for which there is no other Remedy but Patience.

W. Prince of Orange.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

From the Camp at Dussel, June, 1675.

My Lord,

I Was very much pleased to see by your Letter of the 17th of the last Month, which I received but three Days ago, that our Quarrel is at an End: I can assure you it is no small Satisfaction to me, and I hope that nothing, for the future, may interrupt that Friendship we have mutually promised each other. For my Part, I will endeavour to let you see that I wish nothing so much as to have frequent Opportunities of effectually demonstrating how sincerely I am,

My Lord,

Your most Affectionate Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

P. S.

P. S. I desire you that our Compliments may end with our Quarrel, and when you will give yourself the Trouble to write, to send them to Bulstrode at Bruffels, who will take Care to convey them to me sooner than by the Hague.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

From the Camp at Laifan, Sept. 26, 1675.

My Lord,

IT is no small Pleasure to me to find, by what you gave yourself the Trouble to write to me, that I am still in your Mind, and that you find yourself better of the Gout. I should not have omitted writing to you all this while, if any Thing had happened here worth the sending: But as we have been all this Summer diverting the Enemies grand Army, in order to make Room for the Allies to act, and all that we could do, we could not oblige the Enemies to come to a pitched Battle, being always so advantageously posted, that it was impossible to attack them; so we have been obliged to be the Spectators, and see the Armies of our Allies act. I hope, nevertheless, before the Campaign is ended, we may do something, and afterward use our best Endeavours for the advancing of a good Peace; in which I wish, with all my Heart, you may be employed, hoping thereby

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to have the Honour to see you, and assure you how much I am,

Yours,

W. Prince of Orange.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

Hague, Nov. 22, 1675.

I Have hitherto delayed answering the last Letter you gave yourself the Trouble to write to me, because I daily expected Monsieur Sylvius's Arrival, as you writ me Word: But seeing he did not come, I can defer no longer to assure you of my Respects, and to desire the Reason why his Voyage is retarded so long; and being in doubt whether he will come or no, I will expect your Answer before I shall say any Thing to you, in Relation to the Peace, which I think may be to his Majesty's Satisfaction, and that I may have a great many Opportunities to shew you effectually how much I am,

Yours,

W. Prince of Orange.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

Hague, April 10, 1676.

I Can't let Monsieur Sylvius part without renewing to you the Assurances of my Respects. The Bearer will tell you all what has passed here, and in what Condition he left Affairs.

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fairs. Being just going to take Horfe to go to the Rendezvous of the Army, I hope you will pardon me that I add no more to this, than to assure you, there is no Person in the World more your Servant than,

W. Prince of Orange.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

By Monsieur BENTINCK.

Lokeren, June 9, 1677.

NOT long ago I found by one of your Letters to *Overkerk*, that some-body has given you some very unjust Reports of me ; which has obliged me to send Monsieur *Bentinck* expressly to disabuse you, and to assure you from me to the contrary, being most sincerely your Servant, and desiring you to continue me in your Friendship, which I will endeavour to deserve, by shewing you, on all Occasions, that I am intirely,

Yours,

W. Prince of Orange.

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

Lokeren, June 25, 1677.

NEver was Man sent back so well pleased with the Honours and Civilities you did him ; so that I don't know how he will reconcile himself to this old Way of Living. I must

own myself very much obliged to you, but especially for the good Offices you have done me to the King; I can assure you, that the Thing I most passionately desire in the World, is to be useful to him: For my Part, I will never fail effectually to demonstrate, as also how much I esteem your Friendship, and with what Truth I am Yours intirely,

W. Prince of Orange.

His Highness the Prince of ORANGE's Letter
to the STATES.

From the Camp near Sombref, Aug. 15, 1677.

Noble and mighty Lords, singular good Friends,

ACCORDING as the Advices informed us, which we made known to you by our last of the 9th Instant, the Enemy passed the *Sombref* at *la Bussiere*, in the Night between 8 and 9, and encamped on the other Side of a Wood, lying between him and us, his Right Wing reaching to the Villages of *Arcos* and *Gerpaine*, and the Left near to *Seneff*, where having posted himself, and some Advices being brought us, as if he intended to attack us, we gave the necessary Orders to expect him, and having gone the next Day to discover his Encampment, we found, that having placed his aforesaid Right Wing by a Wood, besides, he had before him a Brook, which, according to the Informations of People knowing the Country, was not to be passed but by Defiles;

we

we observed, at the same Time, that there was an Opening, thro' which the Enemies Left Wing might, in some Manner, be approached, as reaching beyond the Spring of the said Brook : But that to attack the same, it was necessary to pass a Wood thro' a Defile, where not above two Squadrons could march in Front ; at the End of which Defile, or Narrow, there was a Hill, upon which the Enemy had his Guards, and would undoubtedly have endeavoured to have maintained it : Neither was there any passing about the said Hill, because of another Brook which took its Rise from it.

The Enemy then being so near our Camp, and so advantageously posted, it was, indeed, generally judged the Siege of *Charleroy* could not be continued, without obliging him to dislodge from thence, because that remaining in the aforesaid Post, he absolutely hindered us from foraging between the *Sambre* and *Maese*, without which the Horse could not possibly subsist ; and that by going with Detachments on the *Sambre*, he could cut off, or much annoy the Convoys going between *Brussels* and the Camp. But after the aforesaid Disposition and Situation were exactly discovered, there arose a Debate, Whether it was serviceable, adviseable, and possible to attack the Enemy, lying, as has been said within this Advantage ? It was maintained by some, that the Attack was to be hazarded, tho' without solving the Difficulties,

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which made it sufficiently impracticable ; and by others, that by undertaking thereof, considering the aforeſaid Advantages, a Deſeat was to be feared in the higheſt Manner, without any Appearance of Succeſs ; which, being by us conſidered, as well in reſpect of the aforeſaid advantageous Poſt poſſeſſed by the Enemy, as by Reaſon of great Detachments which we ſhould be forced to make, for the ſecuring our Artillery and Baggage ; and that in Caſe of a Deſeat, there ſeemed not to remain the leaſt Hope of a Retreat ; except poſſible for ſome few : Becauſe then all the Paſſages and Shallows of the *Sambre* would have been watched by thoſe of *Charleroy*. We judged it better to ſuffer ſomething in Point of Reputation, than to bring the Army of the State into evident Danger, with little or no probable Hopes of Succeſs. We marched thereupon Yeſterday off from *Charleroy*, and came and encamped here, having ſince ſent away the Artillery towards *Bruffels*, and ſent back likewise the Baggage of the Army.

W. *Prince of Orange.*

To my Lord ARLINGTON.

From the Camp at Soignes, Sept. 20, 1677.

SINCE his Maſteſty has been pleaſed to give me leave to make a Tour into *England*, I hope quickly to have the Honour of ſeeing

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seeing you there, and to dispel those Impressions, as my Lord *Ossory* tells me, some People have made upon you, That I was not so much your Friend and Servant, as I always have been. It will not be long before I shall have an Opportunity to assure you to the contrary by Word of Mouth, desiring you to continue me still in your Friendship, and to be assured that I am intirely

YOURS,

W. Prince of Orange.



A 2 4

ALEX-



A LETTER to her Highness the Princess Amelia, Grandmother to his Highness, wherein is related what passed the 18th of September, at the Reception of the Prince of ORANGE, at Middleburgh.

Most Illustrious and High-born Lady,

I Take the Boldness, in all Humility, to inform your Highness of what has passed here.

About half an Hour past Twelve, his Highness's Hooftmaster came where the States of Zeeland were assembled, and there with due Compliments acquainted them of his Highness's Arrival; whereupon he was desired to withdraw, which he did for about a Quarter of an Hour.

And being come in again, the Secretary, in the Name of the States of that Place, acquainted him, that they were very glad of the coming of the Prince; and that he should be received with all due Respect and Kindness.

The

The States of *Middleburgh* immediately afterwards resolved, that his Highness should be received with all possible Respect, and that all the Trained Bands should be in Arms, and every one was extream glad at the coming of his Highness, except some, who we may well suppose had rather have seen something else: But seeing the Thing so well encouraged, durst say nothing.

About an Hour after I came with the Heer *Odyke*, and his Highness's Hooftmaster, to the Castle of *Rammekens*, to expect an Answer, after what Manner we were best to come.

We staid there about two Hours, that the Citizens might have Time to put themselves in Arms and Order.

There lay a great Company of Ships about *Rammekens*, as well Men of War, as *East-India* Traders, who all fired round; and we from the Shore answered them with our little Guns, that we had on bord the State Yachts; and among the Seamen was all the Joy imaginable.

When he came near the Haven, and had passed the Point, we fired five or six Times over, to give Notice of the Prince's coming.

The Secretary came first to salute his Highness in his Yacht in the Name of the States.

After

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After him came the Lords of *Middleburgh*, about seven or eight in all, with their Pensionaries.

Their Compliments being made, his Highness was conducted out of the Yatch into a Coach with six Horses, accompanied with many Lords, and followed with a great Train of Coaches, with six, four, and two Horses, passing by the Trained Bands, who were ranged on either Side, and great Shouting in the Abby where his Highness had formerly lodged, and now was prepared for him.

His Highness was entertained there about a Quarter of an Hour, by the States of *Middleburgh*, who afterwards took their leave.

A while after came the States in a Body to bid his Highness welcome, and each accompanied with their Pensionaries, who in their Names made an Excellent Speech, full of great Expressions of Joy and Gladness.

When they went away, came they of the State, with their Secretary *Huybert*, repeating again their Compliments. The Heer *Stavenisse van Zierichzee*, and the Heer *van Kruymingen* were not there.

After them came the Lords of the Admiralty, whose Secretary made a Speech in their Names.

After

After them the Lords of the State of *Flanders*, and the States of *Walcheren*, as also the Clergy.

'Tis not to be imagined the infinite Company of People that came from all Quarters, the Streets were filled in all Places, the Windows black with People, the Trees and Masts loaded; every one expressing his Joy in all Ways imaginable.

There was no coming near the Abby for the great Prefs of People, and Coaches full of Ladies and Gentlemen to see the Prince.

The Burghers never left Shouting for two Hours that he lay out of the Window.

And besides all, there came sundry particular Lords, and the chieft of the Burghers to welcome his Highness.

It would be too long to tell you every particular Passage of each Man's Satisfaction.

This Night, there has been great Shouting at every Corner of the Street; which, I believe, will continue all Night, it being now just ten o'Clock.

The Burghers pretend to have known of this before; and that other Things should have been done in order hereunto; but in a short Time all will go well.

To

To-morrow I shall inform your Highness what other Business shall then happen, as to the Business of the first Nobleman; but I cannot yet learn that any Difficulty will be therein, or that any will oppose it, for that all Things go according to wish, and there is no doubt but To-morrow it will have its full Success.

To-morrow I shall speak with his Highness about the adjourning the Commissions, wherein nothing further is done as yet; and therein I shall do my utmost Endeavour.

Many by this Work will be supprest; namely, those who were of other Opinions; thereof *Ter-Veer* seems desperate. |

We may perceive their Joy in the very Eyes of the Well-affected, and the Dejectedness of the other, and how each of them expresses themselves.

By five a Clock in the Morning you shall have an Account from me.

So, most Excellent Princess, I pray the Almighty grant you long Health, and have your Highness in his Keeping.

Middleburgh, Sept. 18.
1668. 11 at Night.

His



*His Highness the Prince of Orange's
SPEECH to the Noble and
Puissant Lords, the Estate of
Zeeland in Middleburgh, Sept.
19, 1668.*

Noble and Puissant Lords,

WE could not defer any longer presenting
ourselves, together with our Service, to
your puissant Lordships; and in particular to
thank you for the Honour, Favour, and Affec-
tion, which, upon all Occasions, your puissant
Lordships have hitherto been pleased, in so am-
ple a Manner, to demonstrate to us: And yet
more particularly, for that you have conferred
upon us, the Quality of first Nobleman, as a
Character whereby our most illustrious Predeces-
sors have always been distinguished in this Pro-
vince, pursuant to an Act of your puissant Lord-
ships, the 7th of *August* 1660, which your puis-
sant Lordships have declared, not only as an Ear-
nest of your Love and Affection, within the Li-
mits of your Province, but have actually affected
as an undeniable Argument of that general Inclina-
tion which we have had the Happiness to observe,
both

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both towards Ourself, our Family, and the rest of the Provinces.

Your puissant Lordships having had the Goodness, by a singular Affection, to continue this Favour, at all Times, to us, and also to signify to us lately, in the Year 1666, your hearty Wishes that the Time was expired, which was required to qualify us for the acting as first Nobleman: And now considering that the aforesaid Term of Years is fully accomplished, in that your puissant Lordships thought fit, that eighteen Years were sufficient to qualify us for the same, and we are now entering upon our nineteenth Year; we should conceive ourself wanting in a due Correspondence, both to your Desires and Intentions, if we had delayed any longer coming to accept and enjoy the Possession of that, whereby your puissant Lordships have been pleased obligingly to give us such strong Testimonies of your steady Affection to our Person.

This, I must confess, is the Reason which induced me, puissant Lords, to appear in this noble Assembly; that I might, with all due Acknowledgement, testify my Readiness to take upon me the Quality of first Nobleman; and at the same Time that, by our Deputies, which we shall name afterwards, according to the aforesaid Decree of your puissant Lordships, the 7th
of

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of *August*, 1660, we will take Care that it shall be duly executed at once, to the greatest Honour and Advantage, for the glorious Government of this Province, and the mutual Harmony of every Member thereof. And, moreover, that to the utmost Power, we will preserve and improve a Correspondence so necessary, with all the Members in general, and, particularly, with *Holland* and *West-Frizeland*, which have always maintained a particular Union and Concord with your puissant Lordships.

And besides, we do assure you, that, with all the Zeal and Sincerity in the World, we will employ our best Endeavours, whereby we may be most serviceable to your puissant Lordships, and that, in like Manner, we will follow the same Measures of our August Ancestors, who contributed towards the laying the Foundation of this glorious Republick, and who have at all Times acted for Liberty and Religion; adding to this our great Inclination, which, of our own proper Movement, we have in all Matters to oblige your puissant Lordships.

But to conclude, we do assure you, that it shall be our constant Care to acquaint ourself thoroughly, with the true Foundation and Maxims of the glorious Government of your puissant Lordships, that we may thereby render them more proper for the Advancement of its
Prospe-

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Prosperity and Interests: Praying the great God, with all our Heart, to continue and multiply, by his Mercy, his Blessings upon your glorious Government.

Your Puissant Lordships,

Affectionate Servant,

W. Prince of Orange.

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ERRATA

Page 177. Line 1. read: "the French" for "the English".
 Page 178. Line 1. read: "the French" for "the English".
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